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## Arundell · Discoveries in Asia Minor I/II





Francis Vyvyan Jago Arundell

# Discoveries in Asia Minor

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# DISCOVERIES IN ASIA MINOR.

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VOL. I.

**LONDON :**

**IBOTSON AND PALMER, PRINTERS, SAVOY STREET, STRAND.**

# DISCOVERIES

IN

# ASIA MINOR;

INCLUDING A DESCRIPTION OF THE

RUINS OF SEVERAL ANCIENT CITIES,

AND ESPECIALLY

ANTIOCH OF PISIDIA.

61377

BY THE REV. F. V. J. ARUNDELL,

BRITISH CHAPLAIN AT SMYRNA.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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TO THE AUTHOR

OF

“JOURNEYS IN PERSIA,” “HAJJI BABA,” “ZOHRAB”  
AND “AYESHA,”

THESE VOLUMES

ARE GRATEFULLY AND AFFECTIONATELY

INSCRIBED.





## P R E F A C E.

---

It is supposed by many, and the writer has heard often, even from those who have visited the countries of the East before him, that every spot, especially in Greece, is so exuberant in antiquities, that with no better implement than a knife, you may dig up bags full of medals, and vases, wherever you please.

So it is asserted of Asia Minor—that “Anatolia, covered as it is, we might say having its soil impregnated with the precious remains of antiquity, cannot be traversed in any direction, and described by even the most casual observer, without furnishing much to attract the regards of the rest of the world.”\*

That every province in Asia Minor did

\* Literary Gazette, March 15, 1828.

anciently contain numerous cities, is beyond dispute ; but it is not always so easy to discover their exact position, nor, when even important ruins are found, to decide with certainty upon their ancient name.

The earlier editions of the Geography of Ptolemy, printed centuries ago, will excite the wonder of the modern observer, that any *discoveries* should be talked of in the present day. Every province is neatly marked out, and every ancient city and town as neatly laid down ; with, however, the small embarrassment to the traveller, that they are occasionally placed a few hundreds of miles out of their actual position.

So, in the sublime researches of *Selenography*, the eye is delighted to see every mountain and river and lake, occupying their certain position in the moon ; but the difficulty rests in the verification of the chart.

What can be more beautiful to the eye than the magnificent map of Mons. Lapie, constructed under the patronage of Count Guilleminot ? Every mountain, every streamlet, every ancient hamlet, to say nothing of towns and cities, are laid down with a precision which is quite fasci-

nating, and perhaps the European part of Turkey, and much of the Asiatic, may be considered accurate.

But look at the central part of Asia Minor, in all the maps hitherto published—look at the extent of country included within lines drawn from Cæsarea to Pergamus, thence to the south coast of Caria, and along the shores of Lycia, Pamphylia, and Cilicia, so admirably and satisfactorily surveyed by Captain Beaufort, as far as Tarsus;—and what is the real amount of the geography actually determined *within* this space? How little is known compared with what yet remains to be discovered!

In the unassuming but invaluable map of Colonel Leake, to whom Anatolia is so much indebted, what spaces yet remain unappropriated, and to how many cities of importance is the modest and hesitating mark of interrogation affixed!

The situation which the writer has held for twelve years past—of British chaplain at Smyrna—has naturally afforded him much opportunity of gaining information upon the ancient geography of Anatolia; and, as more immediately connected with his profession, respecting those

places annobled and consecrated by the earlier history of Christianity.

Foremost of these stood the Seven Churches of the Apocalypse ; and though their exact site and ruins have been long ago well ascertained and described, the writer ventured to submit to the public, about six years since, an account of a visit which he made to them, connected with some other objects of important geographical research, which the valuable work of Colonel Leake had suggested to him. If it possessed any claim to attention, it was mainly owing to the fostering hand and valuable notes of that eminent geographer.

The following extracts from Colonel Leake's journal describe the objects of research which the writer proposed to himself.

“ Herodotus mentions a subterranean course of the Lycus, for about half a mile near the site of the ancient Colossæ, but no traveller has yet verified the observation of the historian, or has ascertained the existence of the salt lake of Anava, between Colossæ and Apamea.”

“ There cannot be a stronger proof of the little progress made in geographical discovery in

Asia Minor, than the fact, that the site of Apamea still remains unexplored,—a point of great importance in the ancient geography of the western part of Asia Minor, not less so than Tyana in the eastern.”

“ But it is unnecessary to detain the reader with what must be mere conjecture, until some of the sites of the towns, *especially those of Apamea and Sagalassus*, are decisively determined.”

The writer may be permitted to mention, that he succeeded in discovering the lake of Anava, described by Herodotus as between Colossæ and Apamea; the important cities of Apamea and Sagalassus; and by the discovery of a river near the modern Chonas, precisely corresponding with the description of Herodotus, he almost, if not positively, determined the ancient site of Colossæ.

In the month of August 1832, the writer was invited to accompany Lady Franklin, who has as much zeal and talent for geographical researches in the southern hemisphere, as her distinguished husband, Sir John Franklin has shewn in the northern. Her journey was limited in

this instance to some of the Seven Churches ; but the writer was reluctantly compelled to decline the invitation, his constitution not being proof against a mid-day sun in the month of August. Lady Franklin, notwithstanding, persevered in her journey, and so indefatigable was her love of science, that while a medical friend who accompanied her alighted from his horse at Sardis, and sought repose, overpowered by the burning sun, Lady Franklin, accompanied by a female domestic, actually crossed the Hermus and examined the tumulus of Halyattes. Certainly, since the days of St. John, no British females, nor English side-saddles, ever before honoured the churches of the Apocalypse.

Later in the season the writer planned the journey which he subsequently made.

Obliged to be economical of time, as he could not be long absent from his duties, it was not till he had again and again sought the best information from Turkish and Greek merchants residing in the interior of Anatolia, and from conductors of caravans, that he commenced his second journey.

The objects proposed were, to search for ruins

in several directions, of which the writer had received information; and first and chiefest, to determine the site of Antioch of Pisidia, that place so important to the Christian geographer, as ennobled by the discourses and persecutions of St. Paul, and the discovery of which, says Colonel Leake, *would greatly assist the comparative geography of all the adjacent country*. The writer also indulged the hope of finding the remains of Lystra and Derbe. He proposed to avoid as much as possible, (as in his first journey,) all the routes hitherto published, and thereby to contribute his mite towards the central geography of Asia Minor.

He was accompanied by a very intelligent friend, Mr. Dethier, probably at present the consul for the Belgian government at Smyrna. They succeeded in the objects which had been proposed, even beyond their best expectations. After passing over a very interesting portion of the Catacecaumene, and exploring the districts of many extinct volcanoes, they found in the ruins which were the first object of their search, the important remains of an ancient town, which, till a better name can be given to it, the writer



will call *Clanudda*, but which, from the innumerable tombs excavated in the calcareous rock, might better be named *Necropolis*. Proceeding through the countries lying between the Hermus and Meander, they found the probable vestiges of the town of Eucarpia. The sites of Eumenia and Apamea were, by the discovery of inscriptions, decidedly fixed, beyond farther doubt, at Ishekli and Deenare.

Precisely at the distance from Apamea fixed by the tables—twenty-five miles—they sought for, and discovered, the magnificent remains of the town of Apollonia, or, as named in the inscriptions which they found there, Apollonia τῶν Λυκίων Θρακῶν Κολόνων. Not the least interesting part of this discovery was their meeting with a colony of Greeks, who had lived here from the earliest ages of Christianity, and who, though under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Pisidia, have no intercourse whatever with any other Christian community from without, intermarrying always among themselves.

The discovery of Apollonia at once assured the discovery of the greater object of the journey—that of Antioch of Pisidia; and at precisely

the distance from Apollonia fixed by the tables, viz. forty-five miles, the superb remains of the metropolis of Pisidia appeared in view. The remains consist chiefly of prostrate temples, churches, and between twenty and thirty arches of the most magnificently constructed aqueduct the writer ever beheld.

From hence, having coasted nearly three sides of the lake of Eyerdir, which is in circuit at least one hundred miles, the travellers went by Isbarta to Sagalassus, collecting some further notices on the magnificent ruins of that city, so celebrated for the siege of Alexander. Thence they went in pursuit of the ruins of Selge; and if the ruins which they found are not those of that important city, certainly they belong to a city of very considerable importance. It was the wish of the travellers to have gone in pursuit of Perga, Lystra, and Derbe; but the entrance of the Egyptian army under Ibrahim Pasha into Iconium, and the passing of troops all over the country, made it imprudent to seek for antiquities at the risk of personal safety. They therefore returned by Bourdour, and thence by a route, in great part new, to the back of Chonas, where, by the exa-

mination of the river miscalled the Lycus, they decidedly fixed the proper situation of Colossæ at Chonas.

Though the journey occupied but six weeks, yet the distance travelled over in that time could not be much less than one thousand miles ; and (including the writer's former journey) the *new* ground, hitherto unknown to the European traveller, or at least unpublished, will not be much less than six hundred miles.

The writer had hoped, in the autumn of the present year, or the following spring, by availing himself of the hospitality of the Archbishop of Pisidia, and accompanying him on his visitation through his diocese—which, in its present extended limits, includes Pisidia, Pamphylia, Lycia, &c.—to have assisted very materially the geography of these important, and, even yet, little-explored provinces. But the afflicting hand of God fell heavily upon him ; and compelled, for a season at least, to relinquish his duties in Smyrna and return to Europe, he abandons to the future and more light-hearted traveller the further discoveries he had fondly hoped to make.

LONDON, JULY 17, 1834.

Received from Mrs. J. H. ... 624

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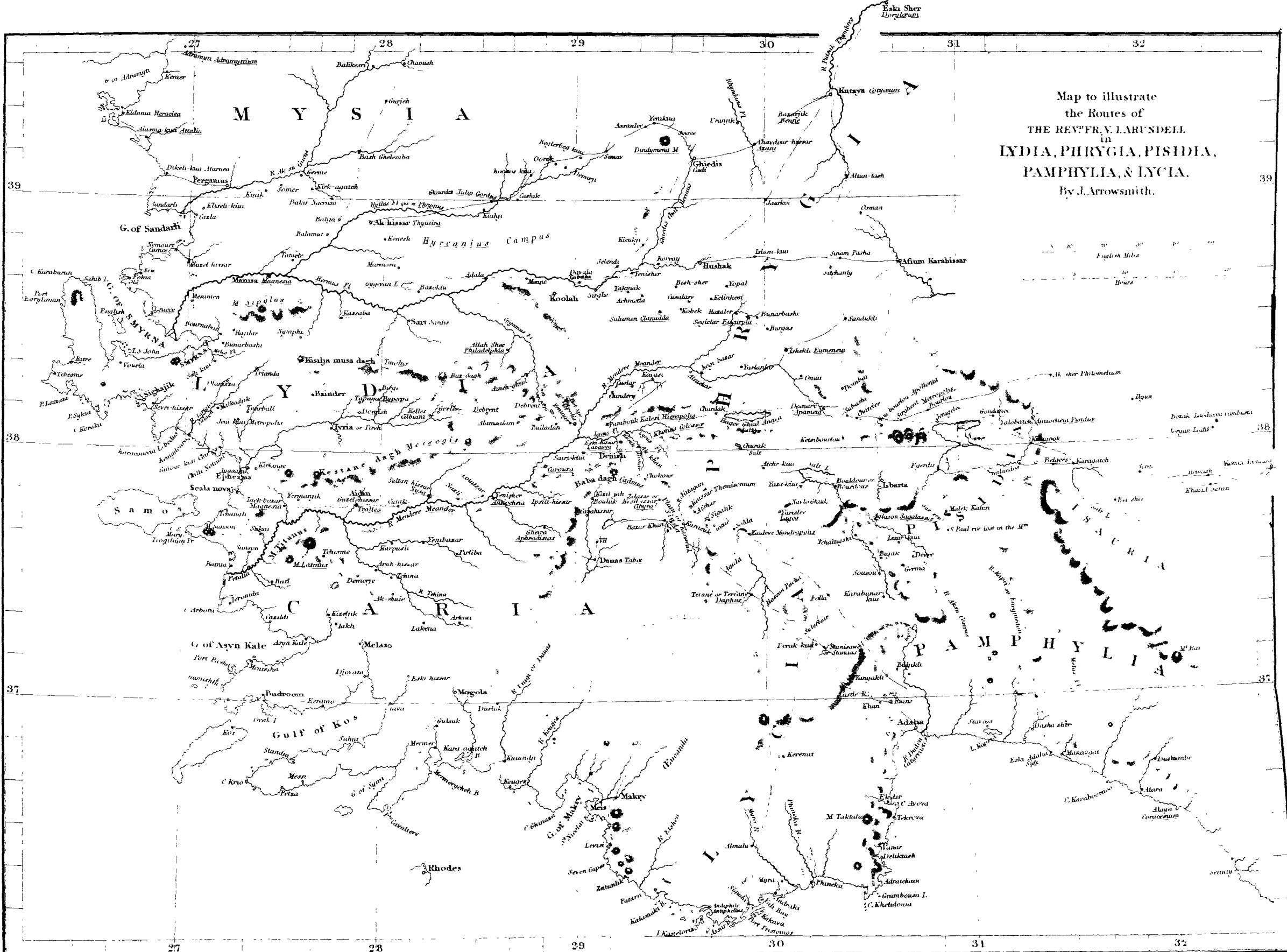
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The views have been prepared from the slight sketches of the author, who has been unaccountably deprived of the promised assistance of his friend and fellow-traveller.

Map to illustrate  
the Routes of  
THE REV. FR. V. LARSENDELL  
in  
LYDIA, PHRYGIA, PISIDIA,  
PAMPHYLIA, & LYCIA.  
By J. Arrowsmith.





# DISCOVERIES IN ASIA MINOR.

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## CHAPTER I.

Travelling companions and attendants—The Palank—Leave Smyrna—Pont Caravan—Kulas of Suleiman Pasha and Sadek Effendi—Baths and temple of Diana—Baptistery and church of St. John—Turkish pilgrims—Cucklujah, and Dr. Matteo—Laudable example of Dr. Chishull—Hadjilar and Mr. Van Dam—Cafés—Nymphi cherry groves, and lions—The Cryos—Mount Sipylus, and statue of Cybele—Arrive at Cassaba—Supposed site of Ægara—Melons of Cassaba—Armenians.

*Monday, October 22, 1833.*—I was favoured with an excellent *compagnon de voyage* in Mr. Dethier, the accredited agent of the Belgian government. My old acquaintance, Milcom, of a most

forgiving temper, notwithstanding all my former abuse of him, condescended to accompany me once more as *conducteur*, with his surijee, Suleiman, both Armenians by profession, but Turks in dress and at heart, as well as in name.

An important addition to our party was a Greek—a Greek *sui generis*, as superior to most others of his countrymen as he was unlike them. This gentleman was called Kyriacos at his baptism, from having made his *entre* into the world on a Sunday. His family name was Papas Oglou, “the son of a priest,” a name correctly given because the priesthood had been hereditary in the family for many generations; but friend Kyriacos, either disliking the profession, or conceiving it to be too grave for his disposition, imposed upon himself the cognomen of Phædrus, literally “the gay;” and the “Papas Oglou” was for ever laid aside. A man of strong natural sense, cultivated by having been the pupil of the regretted Oeconomus, and by his present occupation in society, *marchand de tapis*, dealer in Turkey carpets.

Mr. Dethier and I were mounted on European saddles, but Kyriacos preferred a palank,

that is, a cubic pad stuffed with straw about four feet square, to which two ropes, about a foot long, were attached on either side in lieu of stirrups, and being so short, the rider's knees were brought up close under his chin.\* But this palank, elevated as it was, was raised higher

\* That the palank has as fair claim to antiquity as the saddle, Pancirollus assures us "Pliny saith, that the Pelethronii, a people of Thessaly, or the Lapithæ, found out *frænos et strata equorum*, (i. e. harness for horses,) by which word, *stratum*, they understood *ephippia*, or saddles for horses, but inconsiderately, in regard by that word, not so much a saddle is signified, as any thing else that is thrown upon a horse; for whatever they spread over a thing was called a *strangulum*, as the coverlet of a bed; and so *stratum* is a horse-cloth, or a covering for a horse. *Quicquid enim, ait Varro, insternebant, a sternendo stragulum appellabant; quale est illud, quod lectis operiendis insterni solet. Sic stratum et instratum etiam est operimentum equorum; cujusmodi Stragulæ Babylonicæ feruntur.*"

"Optat ephippia bos piger."—*Hor. lib. i. epist. 14.*

The same learned author informs us, that stirrups, called *staphiæ*, or *stapedes*, were probably not invented earlier than after the fall of the Roman empire. But with respect to horse-shoes, it may be presumed that iron ones were in use in early times; because *Poppæa*, wife of *Nero*, shod her horses with gold and silver ones.

*Pancirolli Nova Reperta*, p. 661.



still, first by the paploma, the travelling quilted counterpane so called ; then by the rider's greco, or bad-weather cloak, and such other outward vestments as he was not in immediate want of. On either side of the horse hung an enormous bag of thick white felt, which contained all the remainder of the wardrobe, and such other articles, the general property of the party, as Milcom and Suleiman, and the baggage-horse could not well dispose of. An umbrella tied behind the saddle, and a Damascus sabre suspended by a belt of red cord, completed the equipment of our useful friend.

We mounted before the English consulate, and riding in procession through the Rue des Roses, the Greek quarter of St. Demetri, and the Armenian street, Basma Kana, and having passed the ordeal of the innumerable mendicants imploring alms in the name of the Panagia, and praying God, in return for a para, to pardon all the sins of our fathers and mothers, we arrived at the Pont Caravan, or bridge over the river, which gives name to the immortal Smyrniote bard. Alas ! no longer the silver Meles, but a dirty

pool for ducks on one side, and a dirtier for washing wool on the other. Here the gentlemen of the douane demanded a backshish for not running their long searching iron spits through our baggage-bags, and which of course we declined as contrary to the capitulation, for Franks to admit the right of search at all.

The Caravan Bridge is a spot of general attraction, and may be called the Boulevards Italiens of Smyrna, from the number of persons seated on chairs, and taking refreshments under the shade of the *cafinèt*-trees; and if the refreshments are not Parisian, and if there be but little of female society, yet the scene is a showy one, from the variety of head ornaments: the Turkish, Xebeque and Greek turbans, the Armenian cardinal-looking red and black cap, the Jewish blue conical cap with the modest pencil-lined handkerchief wreathed around it—and last, but most conspicuous, the dignified Frank hat. We could not leave the spot without laying out some paras in the purchase of a few *coluries*,\*

\* These cakes are annular, or in the form of rings; and as *coluri* is the name given to two circles in a sphere cutting each other at right angles at the poles, may not this have been the

to be deposited in our haybays \* for occasional refreshments on the way.

The Turkish burial-grounds, with their magnificent cypresses, still bore traces of what the Meles could be and do ; for two years ago, the body of water was so great, and the fury with which it rushed along so irresistible, that, inundating all the ground near its bank, it forced a passage through the inclosures of the cemetery ; and the turbans of the Musselim, the Iman, the Mollah, and the Emir, were as little respected as the *unturbaned* stones of their wives and daugh-

form of the cakes described by Jeremiah, vii. 18—"The women knead their dough, to make cakes to the queen of heaven ;" and the spirit, which in the earlier ages of Christianity retained so many of the pagan ceremonies, probably caused these cakes to give name to the sect of the Collyridians towards the close of the fourth century ; for it is universally agreed that the "little cakes" which they offered to the Virgin Mary, were called *Κολλυρίδια*—collyridia.

This sect, it seems, consisted chiefly of Arabian women, who, out of an extravagance of devotion to the Virgin, met on a certain day in the year, to celebrate a solemn feast, and to render divine honours to Mary as to a goddess ; eating the cake which they offered in her name. The history of this superstitious ceremony is related and ridiculed by St. Epiphanius.

\* Small carpet bags, generally used by travellers.

ters—all were swept down that opposed the mighty flood, and even not a few of the lofty cypresses shared the same fate. Had Homer been there, he would have smiled at the majesty of his river god, and exclaimed,

ὁ δ' ἐπέσσυτο, οἴδματι θύων·  
 Πάντα δ' ὄρινε ῥέεθρα κυκώμενος· ὥσε δὲ νεκρούς  
 Πολλούς, οἳ ῥα κατ' αὐτὸν ἄλεις, ἔσαν οὐς κτάν' Ἀχιλλεύς  
 Τους ἔκβαλλε θύραζε, μεμυκῶς ἥγυε ταῦρος,  
 Χέρσονδε·

Lib. xxi. line 234.

“ Then rising in his rage above the shores,  
 From all his deep the billowing river roars,  
 Huge heaps of slain disgorges on the coast,  
 And round the banks the ghastly dead are tost.”

*Pope's Iliad*, book xxi. line 257.

It was nearly half past ten when we passed the Caravan Bridge; a few minutes more brought us to the gate of the *once* splendid *kula* \* of Suleiman Pasha. *Once!*—not a stone of the foundation was laid ten years ago, and it is already a ruin! But the lord of the mansion was then only Suleiman Aga, and had not been raised to the dangerous dignity of a pasha of three tails. How much happier had been his lot if he had never built this splendid villa at all: it probably marked

\* Turkish villa, or country-house.

him as an object of despotic jealousy and cupidity ; and though his fidelity to his sovereign on the fearful day of the janissary annihilation entitled him to the rank of pasha and the government of Candia, he was only elevated to feel his subsequent misfortunes more deeply. Happy had he been if he had still remained the same humble individual, immortalized by the pen of Byron.\*

The *kula* of Sadek Effendi, on the opposite side of the road, might have given Suleiman a valuable lesson if he had been disposed to receive it. Strange as the story may seem, it is a tradition on record, that this house has ever been fatal to the lives of those that inhabit it ; and from its *elevated* situation, while the *low* ground around it, upon which the miasma might be supposed to rest, is not at all unhealthy. If I was not a Christian, I should say that this might arise from the anger of the Deity whose temple pre-occupied the site ; for the numerous vestiges

\* It is of him Lord Byron speaks in his notes to the second canto of Childe Harold, describing him as “ Suleyman Aga, late governor of Athens, and now of Thebes.” If the reader wishes to know more of this mansion, and the details of a splendid dinner given to the captain and officers of the Cambrian, he may refer to Swan’s Journal, vol. i. p. 154.

all about it, especially in the road, confirm the supposition that a temple did stand near, and what other spot so well adapted?

Advancing towards the place called the Baths of Diana, the mausoleum, called absurdly the Temple of Janus, on the left side of the road, no longer exists—not a trace is left of it, though perfect much less than a century ago. That there were numerous places of sepulture hereabout is evident from the four granite sarcophagi, used as water-troughs, at the fountain; and probably the mosaic pavement, yet buried near some fig-trees at a short distance behind the fountain, belonged to a mausoleum of superior order, if it was not a bath. In either case, the names of two individuals are perpetuated by it: one of which, Ganymede, of more modern date than the days of Tantalus, being connected with one of the Ptolemies, kings of Egypt.

We arrived at the Baths of Diana at a quarter before eleven; so named from tradition, but of no ancient date, otherwise we might be disposed to conjecture that the temple of Diana occupied the spot, or nearly so, where the mosaic pavement was found; this, however, agrees but ill

with the account of Quintus Calaber, who says, *that* temple stood on a hill of moderate height, at such a distance from the Hermus as to be about twice as far as a man's voice could be heard. Either in his days there were men of different lungs, for the Hermus is six hours distant, or we must find some other place for the temple of Diana.

It is curious that tradition asserts the inscribed pillar in the mosque of Bournabat, which records the healing virtues of the river Meles, was brought from hence. But the stream which runs into the sea from the baths of Diana cannot be the Meles, though the water, in part at least, comes into the pool by a souterrain connected with the field in which is the mosaic pavement. Chishull supposes the temple of Esculapius stood near the baths of Diana, though modern researches place it near the Jewish burial-ground.

With all due respect for the character of Diana, I would willingly indulge in the supposition, that in later times this beautiful crystal water might have been used as a baptistery for the catechumens of the church of Smyrna ; if not in the days of Polycarp, a century or two later.

At least it is evident that here was a *circular* inclosure, and the pillar, which is still standing, resembles in form and material those which are to be seen near the Jewish quarter in the Turkish cemetery, the undoubted site, in my belief, of one of the earliest, if not first, christian church.\*

\* Of course I must be understood to mean the earliest church which was permitted to be erected, either at the time the empire became christian, or previously. It was probably the church of the beloved disciple, for it is at a short distance from the present church of St. John. Numerous pillars are still erect, either entire or broken, which ran in a direction nearly north and south above five hundred feet. There is an extensive souterrain in the cemetery, which abounds with other columns used in part as Turkish grave-stones, of all sizes and kinds of stone. Near the base of one of the erect columns, I discovered a stone, on which was sculptured an ancient Greek cross; and if tradition has any weight, the following will confirm the conjecture. Adjoining the cemetery is a large piece of ground inclosed by a continuation of the walls of the burialground. It is a beautiful green oasis in the midst of the filthy streets of a Turkish city; and in one part of it is a large pedestal of white marble which once supported a statue, with an inscription, of which the words ΑΓΑΘΗ ΤΥΧΗ only remain. Any person who has been in the habit of passing it frequently, like the writer, must have been struck as he was, at seeing it always shut, and always unappropriated. Not a shed erected near it, though building ground is so valuable, and not a hoof permitted to pollute it with its tread. The adjoining cemeteries are crowded to excess, but this spot is not even permitted to be



We had proceeded but a little way beyond this place, when we met a troop of Turkish horsemen : there was something about them which looked unusual ; I thought that, besides the imperturbable gravity of the Turkish countenance, there was a consciousness of importance and self-satisfaction. Every thing about them told us they were travellers, and had come from far ; though their clothes and shoes were not like those of the Gibeonites, but spruce and in good order. They were Hadjis, a title now become their indubitable right, from having accomplished a pilgrimage to the tomb of the prophet.

The village of Cucklulah was now on the right, beautiful in situation and prospect, and wanting only a better supply of water to raise it much above the other villages. I was reminded of the fate of a poor acquaintance of mine, a Hakim and coin-

consecrated to the most sacred of the appropriations of Islamism. One day I ventured to inquire the reason from a white-bearded Turk who was leaning over the wall. “ It is a spot polluted by the graves of Giaours, who will not suffer the bones of the faithful to rest in peace ;” and his story was, that twice or thrice an attempt was made to add it to the adjoining cemetery ; but as often as an interment took place, the body was always found on the following day most unceremoniously thrown out of the grave.

vender, for the terms are synonymous. Poor Dr. Matteo, of diminutive stature, with a jolly red face, a Frank hat, and a large cane, which served alike to support his medical character and a lame foot ; he was not a medallist of the first order, but Dr. Matteo was industrious in his researches, and many a piastre has he received from me and my scientific friend, Mr. Borrell. The poor man, proud of some recent acquisition, displayed his medals, and exaggerated their value in the presence of some villains in the village, and shortly after his body was found, shut up, in an oven!—not the baked head—but the entire body !

At twenty minutes after eleven, we arrived not at the Café de Paris, but the Café of Sohok kouou, the café of “the cold spring.” In twenty-five minutes more, we were among the habitations of the dead, the ancient graves of Eshecleer ; where fragments of columns and architraves, once adorning the temples of deities, or the splendid mansions of greatness, were employed in marking the narrower mansions of many humbler individuals. Some inscriptions are to be seen here at present, and formerly there were many.

Shortly after mid-day we were in a beautiful little grove of pomegranates, the shade of which, in a warmer season, must be well appreciated by the traveller ; but to-day we could well bear all the heat of the sun-beams. About a quarter after twelve, the village of Bounar-bashi lay about a mile on the right ; a name common in Turkish geography, as marking a place abounding with sources. It was hereabouts, that some kind friends, who had accompanied us thus far, bade us farewell, and wheeled their horses about for Smyrna.

It seems to have been the invariable usage in earlier times, for even those who undertook the *dangerous* journey from Smyrna to Magnesia, or to Ephesus, to be so escorted. Chishull, in 1699, though he had a pretty strong party, being no less than “ twenty-three light horse,” was kindly and considerately escorted by “ six or seven other gentlemen of the English factory, as far as Norlicui,” a village on our left in the plain, where, after a short repast, they returned again to Smyrna, leaving the doctor and his friends most laudably employed in arranging a plan, “ that morning and evening *prayers* should be

constantly read to the company during the whole journey,"—a practice, perhaps, not always followed by those who have succeeded them.

At a quarter before one o'clock, we came abreast of the village of Hadjilar, which lay about half an hour on the left in the plain, and near which passes the road to Magnesia. The only Frank house has been long the property of Madame de Cramer; but in 1683, as M. le Brun informs us, who favours us with a view of the mansion, it belonged to the illustrious Mynheer Van Dam, Consul of Holland, who is represented in grand costume of chasseur, with all his attendants of janissaries, and a host of dogs, great, small, and middling.

Leaving the rich plain at one, for a country of more undulating character, in a quarter of an hour we pass a bridge, and then ascend through Cavakli derè, having on the left the remarkable conical rock, which is so conspicuous from Smyrna. The mountain seems to have been cut down to form the pass, and may be easily defended with a small force. It is said, that on the summit of the rock there are remains of an ancient fortress, but we did not see them.

Here is the café denominated Bell Café, which we reached at a quarter after one. The position is certainly beautiful ; but whether the name is to be derived from this circumstance, or another, quite as agreeable to the ears of the Cafidji, the tinkling of the camel-bells, is submitted to abler etymologists.

Another café with a less attractive name, Das Café, invites the traveller to repose and refresh himself with a pipe and cup of coffee, under the shade of a fine plane-tree, half an hour from the former one : and near this is a ruined bridge, over the stream that flows along the road. The loss of the bridge would be to be regretted, when the water does flow, but when we crossed the bed at two o'clock, it was, as it usually is, without water.

In another half-hour the town of Nymphi was abreast on the right, at some little distance from the road ; the position is beautiful, surrounded by wood, and having above it, on the almost precipitous side of the hill, remains of the ancient walls of Nymphæum, long the residence of the Emperor Michael Paleologus, in 1260 ; celebrated in later times for its mines of gold

and silver, and no less *renommée* in the present day, for the excursions of the fair travellers of Smyrna, who boldly visit the beautiful and refreshing cherry groves, undismayed by the tales of the *lions*, which, like the *dragons* of the Hesperides, are said to guard them.\*

In another quarter of an hour, that is to say, at a quarter before three o'clock, we had, according to the calculation of better-informed travellers, finished half of our day's journey; Yeni Café being reputed the half-way house. There is no want of cafés on this road, for at a quarter past three we came to another repository of pipes and coffee.

Near this are the remains of a bridge over

\* In his former work, "Visit to the Seven Churches, &c.," the author enumerating the wild beasts which are found in the neighbourhood of Smyrna, mentioned a *lion* as seen by Mr. Jolit, when accompanying some ladies in the cherry season to Nymphi. There is reason to believe that gentleman was *mistaken*, and that the lion does not exist, at least in this part of Asia. The hyæna, wolf, black and brown bear, lynx, jackall, fox, porcupine, and a species of leopard or panther, certainly do exist. Of the last, the author had ocular demonstration a few months ago, a female panther being shot by a Greek, which measured sixteen lengths of the man's foot from the nose to the tip of the tail—about thirteen feet. The claws are in the author's possession.

the Nymphs, supposed by Chishull, the ancient Cryos, (“*cold*,”) mentioned by Pliny as a tributary stream to the Hermus, in the present season of excessive drought meriting to be dignified with the name of *river*. What it is in the season of floods, the lofty broken arches of the bridge bear ample testimony. At four o’clock we crossed the river, shallow but wide; and for the comfort of those who in a cooler season are compelled to traverse the Cryos, twenty minutes beyond, is the Iki Capi Café, or café “with two doors,” though we could see but one. Here we made our dinner, and left it again at five o’clock, and when nearly six crossed a stream flowing from the south.

It was growing dark, or we might have seen, as the traveller by daylight may, the abrupt termination of Mount Sipylus, at a considerable distance on the left, behind which lies the town of Magnesia. It is described by Chishull as a stupendous precipice, consisting of a naked massy stone, and rising perpendicularly almost a furlong high.\*

This has been supposed to contain some magnetic iron as well as the rock of the Acropolis behind the town of Mag-

It was here, too, that Chishull saw “a certain cliff of the rock, representing an exact niche and statue, with the due shape and proportion of a human body,” confirming the account of Pausanias, who says it was a very ancient statue of Cybele, and said to be the work of Proteus, son of Tantalus. Mr. M’Farlane was more venturesome than Dr. Chishull, and measured the lady’s figure.

The Nymphs pass down through this plain on the left, and join the Hermus. Happily for the traveller on a dark night, another café presented itself at a quarter past six. From thence nesia; and the magnet is said to have taken its name from hence. Chishull having perceived that the compass was affected by it, I repeated his experiment in company with Rev. Mr. Hartley, in 1826, but though we imagined the compass was so affected, I was not sufficiently assured of it, and, willing to hear better proof, accompanied Dr. Yates and Mr. Moores, an officer in the American navy, in January 1830, taking with me two compasses, one of which, a remarkably good one, had been kindly sent out to me by Colonel Leake. The results of our observations were entered by Mr. Moores, in our “Traveller’s Register,” at Smyrna, and have been again given in full detail by Dr. Yates, in the *Athenæum*, for January 4, of the present year. The existence of a considerable magnetic influence was clearly established: at the same time, I confess, it is quite as probable that Magnesia in Thessaly is intitled to an equal claim.



to Cassaba, where we arrived at half-past seven, we rode and stumbled along, having first crossed another stream over a road that seemed, from the quantity of round pebbly stones, to have been once the bed of a torrent. We were perplexed in the choice of a khan, for there are several in Cassaba, and lost some time in the promenade, leading our horses through the streets, which at another season would not have been so agreeable, for the place abounds with water; at last we were well accommodated in the khan called Boiadjoglou Khan—the khan, of “the painter’s son.”

The Turkish name of this town is Durguthli, Cassaba meaning simply a town. Upon what authority it is said in the French map to stand upon the site of *Ægara*, it is difficult to say, though such a place is mentioned by Ptolemy, as a city in Lydia, but with *Hypæpa* and other cities lying on the southern side of Mount *Tmolus*. It owes its present importance, if not its origin, to the preparation of cotton wool, and I suppose that, as in the days of Chishull so at present, the wool is separated from the seed “by a wooden and iron roller, spinning one upon another, in a rapid motion.”

For the *gourmand*, Cassaba has a more inviting celebrity—of the fifty different species of melons, which we are told are to be found in the Levant, the melons of Cassaba stand pre-eminent—racy and luscious, with the additional recommendation of keeping sound as late as January and February. The melons of Magnesia and the neighbourhood are celebrated by Pliny, and the vicinity of Cassaba to Magnesia identify the species, and attest the good taste of the naturalist. Even that great warrior Tamerlane was not insensible to the delicious fruits of Dougourlic, as his Persian historian names Cassaba.

Cassaba contains nearly two thousand houses, Turkish, Greek, and Armenian. The latter seem to have settled there about 1690—at least it was a little after that time, that they were allowed a firman for building a church; a permission, considered at that time as a peculiar mark of favour. In fact, the Armenians are held in much higher estimation by the Turks than any other rayahs, if not preferred even to Franks. This is in part accounted for, by their approaching each other so nearly in many of their usages. They both speak the same language; their females are not

admitted into the society of the other sex; nor permitted to walk out without being veiled; the black covering of the face (yasmak) excepted, it would be difficult to distinguish an Armenian female from a Turkish one, for both wear also the privileged yellow slippers. There is a gravity too in the Armenian physiognomy, which places him much nearer the Turk than the gay and noisy Greek.

## CHAPTER II.

From Cassaba to Sardis and Koola—Tactico Conscripits—  
 Café of Vourkanlè; “much blood shedding.”—Horror of  
 cavalry in the army of Cræsus at the sight of a camel—  
 Acropolis of Sardis, resembles the mountain over the  
 town of Zante—Reflection on its heart-affecting solitude,  
 and the fulfilment of prophecy—Temple of Cybele—The  
 Gerusia—Remains of primitive churches—The Pactolus—  
 Arrival at Salickly—Kind-hearted Jew unfurnishes his ma-  
 gazine for our accommodation—Bazaar day at Salickly—  
 Extraordinary appearance of the lowest ridges of Mount  
 Tmolus—Ford the Cogamus—Village of Titan or Ey-  
 carn—Village of Dourasolou—Ancient vestiges—Error of  
 the French map in the position of Dioshieron corrected—  
 Foot courier between Erivan and Smyrna—Shed with  
 enormous water jar—Turkish charity for the fainting tra-  
 veller—Cokederè Café, the site of former adventure—Ex-  
 traordinary view of several extinct volcanoes.—Road in  
 the midst of lava—Arrive at the town of Koola.

*Tuesday, October 23.*—On rising, soon after  
 six, the weather was unpromising, but it bright-

ened, and when we set off, about nine o'clock, became fine. In half an hour we came to a fountain on the right : such a thing would not merit notice in European travelling, but here, in the land of heats and droughts, it is too important to be omitted. In five minutes more, another lay near an ancient burial-ground with so many fragments of antiquity within it, that if Cassaba does not stand upon an ancient site, certainly some such must have been at no great distance ; for it is incredible, that all these fragments should have been brought from Sardis, as they are commonly said to have been.

We had scarcely quitted it, when a spectacle presented itself, perhaps not uncommon in older times, but certainly much more frequently to be seen since the destruction of the Janissaries, and the establishment of the Tacticoes, or regular troops.

A number of young lads, few above fifteen years of age, were tied together with strong ropes in a string, like a caravan of camels, guarded by some Turks, heavily armed with pistol, gun, and yatagan, on horseback. The boys did not seem to march reluctantly, rather in per-

fectly good-humour ; but it was distressing to see them followed by a poor woman, the mother evidently of one of them, in all the agony of despair. We are ready to call the Turks barbarians, as usual, but where is the difference between these Tactico recruits and the conscripts of civilized France, or the victims of a pressgang in enlightened and religious England ?

Another burial-place lay in the road a little before ten, and about the same time we came to a well, and abreast of the village of Debrent, a most picturesque looking place, under the mountain on our right ; the population is estimated at two hundred Turkish houses. The peaks of Mount 'Tmolus began here to assume the fantastic shapes that continue most of the way to Sardis.

The road is over a fine plain, and at a quarter past ten we crossed a wide but dry water-course ; and about eleven o'clock were dismounted at the door of the Café of Vourkanlè, called also sometimes, but incorrectly, Ourganlè. Every Turkish name has its signification ; and Vourkanlè, says Kyriacos, an excellent Turkish scholar, means “ *much blood shedding* ; ” a very

likely and appropriate name for a place in the plains of Sardis, where so much blood has been shed in every period of history. Perhaps this may have its origin in some battle of later Turkish times, but more probably the Turks have only preserved a tradition which existed ages before.

Three large tumuli, which lay on the right of the road, at half past eleven, were incontestable evidences that much blood had been shed, and the thousands that fell now mingle their dust in peace. In ten minutes more we crossed a green ridge, running down into the plain, and at one extremity of which I fancied, on a former journey, that I saw the remains of a square entrenched camp ; the ridge itself is probably the ancient Roman road.

We travelled on till we reached the café and village of Achmetlèe at twenty minutes after twelve, crossing a stream close to it ; and we saw nothing more remarkable than several caravans of camels, having a horse for their leader, instead of their usual *conducteur*, an ass ! and this on the very plains where Cyrus owed his victory over Cræsus, chiefly to the horror which

horses of that day had for the gentlemen with the hunch-back.

Civilization is progressing even on the plains of Sardis, as proved by a large new khan of superior appearance which we reached at half past twelve. For the next hour we had little to remark, except the extensive plain on our left, and the continually changing forms of the peaks of Tmolus on the right; and about half past one we saw a village some way down in the plain on the left; Milcom called it Titan, but whether it be so or Hamiclè, or either, I would not venture to determine.

A much more interesting object was now the Acropolis of Sardis rising before us, and presenting a striking resemblance to the mountain above the town of Zante, and the soft sandstone rock distorted and rent in the same extraordinary manner, and perhaps by the same agency, of earthquakes.

With our eyes fixed on this crumbling monument of the grandeur and nothingness of man, and looking in vain for the city, whose multitudes lie under the countless sepulchral hillocks on the other side of the Hermus, we



arrived at what was once the metropolis of Lydia.

If I should be asked what impresses the mind most strongly, on beholding Sardis, I should say, its indescribable *solitude*, like the darkness in Egypt, darkness that could be *felt*. So the deep *solitude* of the spot, once the “*lady of kingdoms*,” produces a corresponding feeling of *desolate abandonment* in the mind, which can never be forgotten.

Connect this feeling with the message of the Apocalypse to the church of Sardis, “Thou hast a name that thou livest, and art *dead* ; I will come on thee as a thief ; and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee ;” and then look round and ask, where are the churches, where are the Christians of Sardis ? The tumuli beyond the Hermus reply, “*All dead !*” suffering the infliction of the threatened judgment of God, for the abuse of their privileges. Let the unbeliever then be asked, Is there no truth in prophecy ? no reality in religion ?

We walked along the banks of the famed Pactolus, and thence to the two remaining pillars of the temple of Cybele, one of the oldest mo-

numents at present existing in the world, and erected only three hundred years after the temple of Solomon. Mr. Dethier made a sketch of it, and we afterwards took a slight view of the theatre, stadium, and remains of the churches ; and the ruin called the Gerusia, but conjectured by Mr. M'Farlane to have been a church.

I examined it with much attention once more, though I had formerly made a plan of it, and would gladly have been convinced that it had been a church ; but there was so much evidence against it, and particularly in its position, which is north and south, instead of east and west, that I reluctantly was compelled to abandon the idea. It appeared much more dilapidated than when I first saw it, and so did the church which is above the mill. That on the plain was clearly a very early and magnificent building, and I regretted that I had no time to take the ground-plan and dimensions.

It is remarkable, that the Turks call the branch of the Pactolus which is on the east side—not that near the temple of Cybele—by a name signifying “ *the river of riches*,” preserving the tradition of the *golden-streamed* Pacto-

lus, and confirming the observations in my former journey.\*

We mounted our horses again, at four o'clock, for Salickly, which by Milcom's calculation was *three* hours distant, and, as he wished us to believe, not reachable by daylight. Well aware that it could not be so far, we notwithstanding hastened on, and at too quick a pace to take much observation on the way, fearful of being benighted, or, what was as bad, arriving too late to find a lodging.

The road lay over the plain, and being uninteresting, we lost nothing ; but we were agreeably surprised to find ourselves at Salickly *within* half the calculated time, viz. at half past five o'clock, and we were not a minute too early : the ba-

\* The bed of this stream and the stones are not golden at present, but of a dark ochreous colour, as if containing iron. Mineralogists are, I believe, agreed that most of the auriferous sands in all parts of the world, are of a black or reddish colour, and are consequently ferruginous. It was observed by Reaumur, that the sand which accompanies the gold of most rivers, is composed of particles of iron, and small grains of rubies and hyacinth. Titanium has also been detected in the same sand ; and it would appear from the chalybeate springs which have been discovered in that part of North Carolina which affords gold, that the soil is there ferruginous. The gold ore of *Ameca* is decidedly ferruginous.

zaar-day being to-morrow, every hole in the village was filled to overflowing ; and had it not been for a kind-hearted Jew we might have enjoyed the refreshing breezes of the street all night.

Travellers would do well to avoid arriving at any place on the eve of the bazaar or market day ; every other day in the week, probably half or more of the houses are shut up unoccupied, but the bazaar-day is the grand day of business and rendezvous for every man of business, for miles around the village, from the vender of Tchibouks to the mender of old shoes.

Our kind-hearted Jew, it is a pity we have forgotten to immortalize his name, was a possessor of an apartment about ten feet by eight, on the Rez au Chaussée, which he had completely filled to the ceiling (if there had been one, as there was not) with every variety of vendible ware, calculating on a golden harvest.

It is impossible to enumerate his merchandize, the mixture was of so heterogeneous a nature ; but there were heaps of skins, drest and undrest, bags, bales and boxes, buffaloes' horns, salt fish, and other things not less savoury ; all were

thrust out, and we had the exclusive occupation of the entire apartment. We were fearful that some of the Israelitish property, being of too minute a description to be well seen at such an hour, might have remained behind; but our fears were groundless, and our honesty unimpeached.

*Wednesday, October 24.*—In a village of fifty houses, (for that is the number of Turkish, and only one Greek,) overflowing with buyers and sellers, almost enough for five hundred, there was no fear of oversleeping; and we were up by daylight, and making our purchases for the journey.

Kyriacos, who was at the head of the commissariat, bargained for a stock of fish from the Hermus, which had been submitted to the frying-pan long before the sun was up, figs and eggs, milk and *yaourt*; while I added to our travelling case two articles which were subsequently found invaluable; a tin scone or lamp, and a tin cup or boiler; both for a piastre, for bargains may be had at Salickly.

I should be ungrateful to Salickly, if I did not enumerate some of the rich variety of merchan-

dize exposed—not in the shops, for there were none—but upon the *ground*, in this day of the bazaar. There were the necessities, and even luxuries of life. There were shoes and toe-turned slippers, black and red; turban shawls and scull-caps; horse and ass shoes, for camels wear none; travelling *benishes* and tailors' needles; blue beads for camel's necks; toilet looking-glasses, and gum mastic; large assortment of cordage and *palank* tackle; and in earthen ware, choice varieties of *stannas* and *dedjars* and *goumaries*.\*

Though there is but one Greek house in Salickly, yet there is a chapel, probably in the same house, which has a numerous congregation from the neighbourhood every Sunday.

Early as we had risen, it was half past eight before we were on our horses, for it was not an affair of a moment to arrange saddles, and baggage-bags, *palauks* and *paplomas*. Our route lay over the plain, in a direction nearly east, and we were for some time amidst thickets of tamarisk and Turcoman's tents.

It is difficult to describe the appearance of the

\* Water pitchers, covered boilers or sauce-pans, and pigs.

lower and nearest ridge of Mount Tmolus, which, as before, lay on the right, but more distant ; and more difficult to account satisfactorily for this appearance. It looks like a continued line of low sand-hills, or as if the whole of the soil had been washed down from the lofty mountain which rises immediately above, leaving the rocks bare, and that these lower hills were formed by this soil. \* It is too extravagant to suppose, perhaps, that the whole of this plain was once the crater of an immense volcano, and the plain subsequently formed by alluvial deposit.

At half-past nine we came to the banks of a river, in other seasons passed by a wooden bridge which was near, but in this season of most extraordinary drought, there was very little water, and we forded it. This is the river which is passed so repeatedly between Debrent and Bul-ladan ; then flows at the distance of an hour and half before Allah-sheer, (Philadelphia ;) and pursues its course till it falls into the Hermus. As there is no other river deserving the name near Philadelphia, this must be the Cogamus.

\* The rock of Gibraltar, as approached from the east, presents a somewhat similar appearance.

On the left of our road lies a village called either Titan or Eycarn. It is true the names are not at all alike, but we were not quite satisfied with the correctness of Milcom's information, he having already (since yesterday morning) announced to us *two* Titans on the road, and we began to fancy ourselves on the site of the war so famed in ancient mythology.

At a quarter past ten we came to the village of Dourasolou. Whatever may be the etymology of this name, it is not a tempting residence; cold and cheerless as Greenland in winter, and not very mildly treated by the sunbeams in summer, as we may infer from a number of pits in which the *corn*, &c. is kept during the summer months, covered deep with straw, and above with mounds of earth.

We now take a south-eastern course over an extensive open country, without a single tree, or vestige of human habitation, at least of modern times; for at a quarter past eleven, some fragments of columns, &c. on the right, are evidences that living beings, (or, if it is a cemetery, *dead* ones,) have on other days occupied the spot. We cross a water-course very near



this, and a road leading probably to Philadelphia.

In the large French map of Count Guillemiot, the town of Dioshieron is placed nearly on this spot, but most erroneously, for that place lay on the south side of Mount Tmolus in the vale of the Cayster, as is clear from that river being named on the medals of Dioshieron. At the same time, it is probable the columns belonged to some Lydian temple, and we fancied we saw a spot near, which, a little elevated, had been the *emplacement*!

The continued sameness of this most uninteresting country, as uninviting as the *steppes* of Russia, was at length relieved by the approach of one human being. He was a Turk, coming towards us with a steady, determined step. He was the bearer of dispatches, but he neither wore the silver greyhound, nor received the pay of a royal messenger. Milcom recognized in him an old acquaintance, a Smyrniote, or half Smyrniote and half Persian, as his life appeared pretty equally divided in journeying on *foot* between the two.

He was now returning from Erivan, whither

he had been dispatched by a merchant of Smyrna, and the dispatches were certainly not conveyed with the velocity of *steam* ; yet *three* months is not a very long time for a *foot* courier to find his way to Erivan, to get his dispatches and return to Smyrna. Nor was his pay exorbitant, being six hundred piastres for the journey and return, something about seven pounds English currency at the present exchange.

At a quarter past twelve, Milcom, whose throat seemed to sympathize with the present drought, and as if indued with that instinct by which horses are said to know that they are approaching water, though even at a considerable distance, alighted at a little shed by the road side, within which he found a large vase full of excellent water, replenished every day for the thirsty traveller, who would in vain seek it elsewhere.

Does not the beautiful definition of genuine charity instantly occur to the mind? “ Whosoever shall give a cup of cold water only unto one of these little ones, in the name of a disciple, verily I say unto you, he shall in no way lose his reward.” And yet he that placed the vase of water in the shed, and brought it from a considerable distance,

and placed it there every day, was not a Christian—but, a poor, despised, Mahometan!

And what did this poor man propose to himself? It could neither be to receive money nor thanks, for having filled the vase perhaps before sunrise, he never returns to it till the following morning. Shall we deny him, though he be not a Christian, the justice of supposing that he had a benevolent heart, and what is better still, that he did it from love to God? He places not the vase for the “disciple,” only—it is not for those exclusively who hold common faith with himself,—but, like the heavenly virtue of benevolence, the refreshing draught is as free to the *giaour* as to the disciples of the prophet.

Surely such a people, whenever the period shall arrive that they receive the water of life from Him, who invites all to come and buy water without money and without price—the living water of everlasting life—will be much more likely to be an honour to Christianity, than multitudes who now bear the name.

These little water repositories are to be met with in every direction. This is not a charity of modern date; for Tavernier tells us, that in

going from Afumkaralissar towards Tocat :  
“ Il y a une chose à remarquer dans cette route, et en beaucoup d'autres, qui montre qu'il y a de la charité parmi les Turcs. Sur la plupart des grands chemins qui sont fort éloignés des rivières ils ont fait des cisternes, où quand la pluie vient à manquer en de certaines années, on apporte des villages voisins de l'eau pour les passans, qui sans cela suffriroient beaucoup.”

The hills on the right, sterile, reddish brown, and almost bare of vegetation, show that we are approaching the Katacecaumene. At one o'clock our course was east by north, and soon after we came to a fountain and almond-tree, near which Mr. Dethier narrowly escaped a broken limb, being thrown from his horse, or rather, as he was an excellent horseman, threw himself off with great adroitness, as the animal was falling upon its side on a craggy rock.

A deep torrent-bed lay close on the right of the road at a quarter past one, and continued to do so all the way to the café called Cokederè, where we alighted at ten minutes before two. I recognized the place as the memorable site of my adventure with Milcom in 1826, when, losing our way from Koola, we passed the night in this

open, and at that time untenanted, shed, and had our slumbers broken in upon before sunrise by a pasha and his numerous suite going to Aleppo.\*

\* The reader will permit me to give an extract from my former work. “Awoke, at a very early hour, by the passing of horsemen, and loaded camels, horses, and mules, without number. It was the pasha of Magnesia going to take possession of his new appointment at Aleppo. A great throng of his suite, the principal officers, came into our shed, expecting to find it a *cafinet*. It was amusing to see their attendants, one after another, preparing coffee, &c. for their masters. A circular flat box, covered with red leather, in which about a dozen cups and their silver *zaphis* were neatly arranged in compartments lined with cotton, and a cylindrical red leather-case, containing the coffee and boiler, composed generally the whole travelling apparatus. The winding along the ravine road of this interminable line of horsemen, magnificently habited in every costume, and of their fine spirited horses, as gorgeously caparisoned; the foot soldiers, principally Albanians, in their most characteristic dresses; the Delhis, with their long spears, and high cylindrical black caps, (two or three feet high, and six inches only in breadth,) camels and camel drivers, mules and muleteers, &c. &c., presented a sight curious and picturesque in the extreme. No less than two thousand persons composed the pasha's suite. He was himself in the rear with his harem. The road had been recently repaired for the passage of the pasha to his government, affording a striking illustration of Scripture: “He shall prepare the way before him.” The rough places were attempted to be made plain; but, from the winding direction of the mountain, the crooked could not be made straight. The *taktaravans* of the ladies of the harem will still find a difficult passage, and have many a terrible jog.”

Whether the cafidji was the ancient proprietor of the mansion, and wished to be paid for our former accommodation, it is certain he was not contented with the present remuneration made him for the permission to seat ourselves on the ground outside the café, and eat our own provisions, but he received nothing in addition but a pithy reprimand from Milcom, which detained us till half-past two.

Our road lay along the torrent-bed as before, till we gradually ascended and reached the summit of a hill at a quarter past three. Here we could not complain that the view which presents itself is, like the former part of the road, an uninteresting one ; on the contrary, it is one which, from its contrast to any thing we had hitherto seen, while it strongly excites, almost for the first moments appals the mind.

The prominent objects in an extensive view are four mountains, evidently all volcanic : three of them have craters, yet the principal indication of their having been volcanoes is from the form ; for the mountains themselves, or large hills rather, though of a brownish and dark colour, bore no other evidence as yet of what they once were.

In a short time, however, all doubt is removed ; for at four o'clock we rode through the midst of lava, that is to say, both our road and the ground on the right and left are completely covered with small volcanic stones. We passed over much of this, and then for a time found ourselves beyond its limits ; but, having subsequently ascended to a considerable elevation commanding an extensive view, we saw what may properly be designated as the great volcanic mountain of Koola.

The descent was long, and by a troublesome road. It was growing dark, but we were notwithstanding favoured with a fine view of the town of Koola, and the lava plains or ridges about it, long before we arrived there, which was at six o'clock.

Koola, or Kula, contains about fifteen hundred houses, one tenth of which are Greek, and its commerce, according to Major Keppel, is in carpets, red dye, shoes, and opium. It is supposed by Colonel Leake to stand on the site of the ancient Mæonia ; but this is at variance with Pliny's account, who places Mæonia on the river Cogamus, at the foot of Mount Tmolus. It is possible and probable that Pliny is incorrect, but if not, we

must look for Mœonia between Bulladan and Philadelphia, perhaps about Ignighioul.\*

In this case, I should be disposed to hazard the conjecture that the ruins at Ghiculdiz were those of Hierocæsarea; a town certainly in Lydia, and called by one author a Mœonian town, though placed by Ptolemy near Thyatira. My principal reasons in support of this opinion are, first, that there is an epoch on the medals of Hierocæsarea, as on the inscriptions found at Kula and Ghiculdiz, and no such occurs on the medals of Mœonia; and I have a large medallion of Hierocæsarea sent to me from Kula, and have seen two other coins of the same city at Kula. After all, Colonel Leake is probably right, in supposing the passage in Pliny is wrongly punctuated. †

\* There is nothing in Kula itself to confirm the belief that it stands on the site of an ancient town; the numerous marbles, &c. with inscriptions, having been evidently transported from Ghiculdiz, only three miles from Kula; and which, lying on the north-west of it, must be near Mennè, the Megna of Major Keppel. In my first journey I spoke of Kula as occupying the site of one of the Mœonian towns, not then aware of the existence of ruins at Ghiculdiz; and if I had found any considerable ancient remains at Mennè, I should have considered that as the probable site of the town of Mœonia; but I saw little or nothing of remote antiquity, and the few vestiges were chiefly of the lowest times of the Greek empire.

† Several inscriptions found at Kula were published by



Major Keppel, most of which have an epoch, supposed, with great probability by Colonel Leake, to be that of the battle of Actium, which was in general use under the Roman emperors. The following inscriptions having also an epoch, may assist in determining the name of the ancient city.

1. Ετους ΣΡΕ Μ<sup>Η</sup> . Απελλαιου . Κ. Αρμια  
 Τελευτα εθων ις· Ασκληπιαδης ο πατηρ Γλυκεια  
 Η τεκουσα την θυγατερα ετειμησαν. Ετους. ΤΑ . Μ<sup>Η</sup> . Απελλαιου  
 Ασκληπιαδης τελευτα ετων ις. Ασκληπιαδης ο πατηρ  
 Γλυκεια η τεκουσα τον υιον ετειμησαν·

“ On the 20th day of the month Apellæus, in the year 295, died Ammia, at the age of sixteen years. Her father Asclepiades and mother Glycia, have honoured their daughter.

“ In the year 301, and the month Apellæus, Asclepiades died also at the age of sixteen years. Asclepiades his father and mother Glycia have honoured their son.”

Probably Glycia is the same mentioned in one of Major Keppel's inscriptions, which records the pedigree of the family, the date being “ In the month Dios, of the year 299.”

2. Ετους . Το . Μ<sup>Η</sup> . Υπερβο . . In the month Hyperbor :  
 Αμυντας και Τατια . of the year 370, Amyntas and Tatia.  
 Γονεις Αλεξανδε  
 Μελτινη οι Συντροφ  
 Μυντας ο παππος  
 Τινη η Μαμμη Ζηνοδ  
 Και Αμμιανος οι πα  
 Ανεικτητον ετειμη (σον) . have honoured Anicetus.

Anicetus also occurs in an inscription published by Major Keppel, though at a much earlier date. Another Anicetus, in the preceding century, presided over the Christian church, as Pope.

## CHAPTER III.

Female beauty at Koola—Volcano called Kara-dewit, the “black inkstand”—Another large volcano—Road descends over an ancient ridge of lava—Laylay café and Chifflik—Dopos kalesi, or Davala—Ascend the Acropolis, and search for ruins of Tabala—View of volcanic district from thence—Extraordinary formation of Tufa beneath the acropolis—Curious green mineral—Enter on a region of basaltic dykes and causeways—Observations on the Katacecaumene district—Attempt to account for it by supposing vicinity of sea at an earlier period—Evidences that the whole of these countries were once under the ocean.

*Thursday, October 25.*—In a little *routiere*, which I desired friend Kyriacos to make for me, several years ago, of the road between Affiumkarahissar and Smyrna, mentioning the distances and matters worthy of observation in each town, Koola (or Kula) is described as *très renommée* for beautiful women. Our friend has been seeking some time to establish himself in society, by the choice of a wife; and therefore we attributed it to this, that we could not get

away from Kula, this paradise of Houris, till half past ten o'clock. Kyriacos may be forgiven, for Major Keppel says he was particularly struck with the appearance of the women, and that their holyday headdress is quite classical, bearing a strong resemblance to the Phrygian cap.

The high ridge of lava lay on the left of the road, and we rode through the narrow pass in the rock at eleven o'clock, having the volcano called Kara-dewit (the black inkstand) a short way off on the same side. At forty minutes after eleven, another large volcano was on our right. We saw here numerous detached pieces of basalt; and the road descended over an ancient ridge of lava. At twenty-five after twelve a tumulus, called Hier tepè, lay on the left.

Having passed a large burial-ground, we came, at ten minutes before one, to a cafinet called Laylay Cafinet; near it is a village, whence it takes its name, Laylay Chifflik. From hence we saw, with a telescope, distinct causeways of basalt on the summit of the opposite mountains; and heard of a cavern, probably volcanic, extending a great way under ground. There are some trifling remains near the café, but being con-

structed of small stones, they cannot be of very remote antiquity, unless the facing-stones have been removed.

We left the café at twenty minutes after one, and at two o'clock crossed the Hermus, even at this season of drought a considerable river. The scenery around us was full of interest, and in addition to the volcanic district on the left, a magnificent mountain rises in front, detached on either side from the adjoining ranges, and having also some masses of basalt at the summit. This is the *Dopos kalesi*, (or *Topos kalesi*, the “place of the castle,”) called also *Davala*, and which we felt assured now, as I had been when I formerly passed at the foot of it, was the commanding acropolis of the town of *Tabala*; the change of the T into D being of common occurrence in modern Greek, and the B pronounced as V.

Strongly excited by the hope of finding considerable remains on the top of this mountain, the *μεγάλαις τρυπαις*, I had heard of in my first journey, &c. we alighted at the base of the acropolis; and though the ascent was infinitely better adapted for goats than men, we advanced boldly, and scarcely allowing ourselves time to look round

and breathe a little, we gained the summit, an undertaking of no inconsiderable labour. Like many other periods in human life, when excitement runs high, and the land of promise seems within our reach, it was our fate to be completely disappointed. Neither temple nor theatre, nor even the *μεγάλαις τρύπαις*, were to be seen: yet, though we saw nothing that could be called vestiges of a city so ancient as Tabala, there were fragments of walls, cisterns, and houses; but if not Turkish, they could not be earlier than the lowest times of the Greek empire. This certainly was a disappointment, for Tabala was among the list of discoveries we had promised ourselves, and to fail at the outset was discouraging.

However, the view from this spot, which I must still call the acropolis, on better grounds than Mr. Oldbuck for his camp of Agricola, on the Kaim of Kimprunes, after the eclairsissement of the A. D. L. L., was so magnificent and extraordinary, that we were put again into tolerable good-humour. We observed in the direction of Koola, or rather more to the north, three distinct ridges of lava, black as night, sepa-

rated one from the other by low hills, and running east and west. The three bellows of Typho are therefore clearly made out. The lava forms the upper strata on all the mountains round, resting on a light-coloured rock or earth ; and it was very remarkable that the deep chasm or valley which separated the Dopus kalesi, on which we stood, from the adjoining mountains on the north, was effected by the agency of water, long subsequent to the deposition of the lava on the summit.

Descending the mountain, we remounted our horses, and soon after three ascended the hill from the river (Hermus.) We were much struck by the forms into which the light-coloured substance, most probably tufa, under the upper or volcanic stratum of the Dopus kalesi was thrown ; and the remark in my first journey was strictly true, that “ it is absolutely necessary to go quite close, in order to be convinced that you do not actually see clusters of circular turrets, of rich and elegant construction, &c.

“ The rocky summit, split and rent,  
Formed turret, dome, and battlement,  
Or seemed fantastically set,  
With cupola or minaret ;

Wild crests as pagod ever decked,  
Or mosque of eastern architect."

*Lady of the Lake.*

As we were ascending the road on the opposite side we observed in the rock on the left an ancient and well-formed arch; a better evidence than any thing we had seen on the *Dopos kalesi*, that an ancient town really existed very near it; and if so, beyond doubt the town of *Tabala*, for that town was on the *Hermus*, as appears by the medals of which I had seen two at *Kula* yesterday morning.

Before we had reached the top of the hill we were induced to alight by large masses of a green semi-transparent *silex*; had it been the matrix of emerald, we should have coveted Mr. Edward Brown's secret for cleansing the emeralds that he brought from the mines of *Suez* in *Egypt*; and we should have loaded our haybays well, in hope of a good purchaser in another *Grand Duke*. As it was, it appeared to be simply *silex*, though it glared and flickered in the sunbeams in a very tantalizing manner to the eye of one not a jeweller.

The country increases every step in interest for the geologist. At a quarter before four, we

are absolutely in the region of basaltic dykes and causeways. Some immense masses had fallen, large as mountains, in all directions, and were lying towards every point of the compass. In some places, the road passes over the top of a basaltic causeway, the heads of the columns as regularly placed as those of Staffa, or the Giant's Causeway. By what wonderful convulsion of nature were the other masses detached from their first position, and hurled about in such chaotic confusion? And at what period, and to what agency, are to be ascribed their primary formation and position? \*

\* Monsieur de Saint Fond describes *basalt* to be “une substance volcanique noire, quelquefois grise ou un peu verdâtre, inattaquable aux acides, fusible sans addition, donnant, quand elle est pure, et non altérée, quelques étincelles lorsqu'on la frappe avec l'acier trempé, susceptible du poli, et devenant alors une des meilleures pierres de touche. Cette substance doit être regardée comme la matière la plus homogène, la plus fondue, et en même temps, la plus impacte que rejettent les volcans. On trouve le basalte disposé en masses irrégulières, ou en masses qui affectent des espèces de couches parallèles, horizontales, ou inclinées; en prismes triangulaires, quarrés, pentagones, hexagones, eptagones, octagones, et même selon quelques auteurs à neuf côtés; les prismes sont régulières ou irrégulières, d'une seule pièce, ou articulés; on



These are questions to be solved by much abler geologists than I am ; yet there are circumstances connected with the extraordinary country we have been riding through to-day, which cannot but powerfully strike even the most unacquainted with that interesting science.

The Katacecaumene, or district of subterranean combustion, was so named in the very earliest times :—Strabo, and others, mention it as covered with volcanic substances. The volcanoes had ceased to burn long before his day, and the fable of Typho carries up the period when they became extinct to the remotest periods of mythological tradition. We have seen, to-day, several of these volcanoes, seas of black lava, basaltic causeways in all directions, &c. &c.

We are told it is a general rule, “ subject only to very slight and doubtful exceptions, that all groups of volcanic mountains are in the neighbourhood of large masses of salt water.

trouve même le basalte en boule, en table, &c.”—*Recherches sur les Volcans éteints du Vivarais et du Velay*, p. 134.

It is said that fragments of basalt are found in the river Tmolus, but upon what authority, and what this river is, is uncertain.

At the same time it is observed, that though this does not appear to extend to the class of extinguished volcanoes, yet at the period when these volcanoes were in activity, the greater part were near the sea, if not underneath it, and that the rest were exposed to the access of water, derived from the lakes, which had been left in the low situations when the mass of the ocean had retired." If it be asked, how *water* can be a sufficiently powerful agent to produce such extraordinary effects, we are told by Dr. Daubeny, who is perhaps the greatest authority of the present day on the subject, that if "the metallic bases of the earths and alkalies exist in sufficient quantity in the interior of the earth, and if *water* be admitted to them, from what is known of the violence of the action in our minute experiments, a heat would be produced quite equal to all the effects which are exhibited in volcanic eruptions."

In attempting to explain by this, the formation of the Katacecaumene district, the sea, at present, is much too distant ; but are there any evidences actually existing, or supported by tradition, that the sea *once* did come much nearer to it, if it was not entirely *covered* by the ocean ?

The Hermus passes through the volcanic district, and if we trace its course from its estuary into the gulf of Smyrna, we shall see that for a great extent of way it passes through extensive plains almost to the town of Kula. There is, therefore, no reason why we may not suppose that at a very remote period, long before the days of Cræsus or Halyattes, these plains might not have been maritime. The singular appearance of the lower ridges of Mount Tmolus, which has been already noticed, seems to be a confirmation of this opinion. The vale of the Cayster may have been also a creek between the promontories of Messogis and Tmolus, ages, of course, before the popular cry of "Great is Diana of the Ephesians," and this theory applies with much more certainty to the vale, or rather extensive plain of the Meander, which is positively known to have been flowed over by the sea at a considerable distance from the present coast; and the hillocks which are now to be seen rising out of the plain, are as clearly proved to have once been the islands, called Lade, Ose-basha, &c. \*

\* It is proper that we should notice the great changes on

Add to this, the tradition that the sea, or at least the salt-water, actually did come up, once, as far as Apamea, very near the sources of the Meander, for that river was said to be navigable for ships even so far. Many names of places bordering on the plains of the Meander, still bear internal evidence of this; as Denisli, Denis or Dinis, being the *sea*. The lake between Ishekli

this coast, at the mouth of the Meander, by the amazing deposition of mud and earth in the course of ages—changes that have so completely altered the face of things, as described by the ancients, that the first of modern geographers was totally misled in his estimate of the ancient geography, by attempting to reconcile it with the modern, on the ground of the imperfect description of it in the ancient books. M. D'Anville had no conception that the gulf of Latmus received the Meander; but supposed a considerable space to exist between them; and therefore places Miletus twelve miles from the mouth of the Meander, although in reality they were both in the same place; nor was he aware that the gulf itself no longer existed; that its wide opening to the sea was closed up by alluvions; and the island of Lade, so often mentioned as a rendezvous in the history of the naval warfare of ancient times, become a part of the main land, rising, like the rock of Dumbarton, from the marshy soil; and, moreover, that the inner part of the gulf was transformed into a fresh-water lake!—*Rennell's Geography of Western Asia*, Vol. ii. p. 30.

Mr. Hamilton saw *naked rocks*, like islets, between Tralles and Magnesia; and Pliny speaks of the island of Hybanda, two hundred stadia (twenty-five miles) within the land.

and Deenare, (*Apamea*,) called Denis, the sea, &c.; and it is remarkable that Mount Messogis, particularly between Nozli and Guzel-hissar, presents the same appearance as Mount Tmolus in the lower ridges or sand-like looking hillocks which seem to *belt*, as it were, the higher bank ranges of both mountains.

There is, therefore, quite enough to give plausibility to the conjecture, that the sea was once sufficiently near the Katacecaumene to have produced the various phenomena which exist there. But there is also much reason for supposing that the whole of these countries were once under the ocean. I do not bring forward the opinion of Hasselquist as *proof* of this fact; but he says, when riding over Mount Sipylus, from Smyrna to Magnesia, “that it was a view so odd, that I doubt whether any man who has not seen the eastern countries can have any idea of it; a mixture of hills and valleys, like the high billows and gulfs in a boisterous sea. In no place was it more evident that the continent we call *earth* was in the beginning the bottom of the sea.”

Now, certainly, the traveller who is acquainted with the country extending through the cen-

tre of Asia Minor, as far or farther than Cæsa-rea, sees much to induce him to believe that at some period or other that country was covered by the sea ; and that the unceasing continuity of plains surrounded by mountains, and connected with each other by a narrow outlet, were, after the sea had subsided, so many salt-water lakes. Of these, the greater part became dry, and changed into plains ; while numbers remain still, all either salt or nitrous, and some of them sufficiently near the Katacecaumene, perhaps much nearer in their subterranean proximity, to have occasioned volcanic action at a much later period than we have any reason to believe the now extinct volcanoes were in combustion. In the name of Laodicea Combusta, we have evidence that the volcanic region extended so far eastward ; and the remarkable and extensive lake Tatta, producing such abundance of salt in the days of Strabo, and still supplying all the surrounding country, is another link in the chain of probabilities, that Asia Minor, at least the centre and western part of it, was once under the ocean.

It is satisfactory to find that I am supported in this hypothesis, whether visionary or well-

founded, that the waters of the Mediterranean may have in a former age covered much of Asia Minor, by a similar conjecture of Mr. Strangways in his geology of Russia. Describing the Steppe extending between the Black Sea and the Caspian, and which is covered with sand and sea shells, he concludes there was formerly a communication of the Black Sea with the Caspian, and of the latter with the salt lake, Aral; according to which there must formerly have been either two inland seas separated by land in the neighbourhood of the Bosphorus, or the Mediterranean must have extended to the interior of Asia as far as the low steppe continues; and in that case its eastern shore would have been the high land, which, in the steppe of the Kirghis, connects the Atlay with the Himmalaya mountains.

## CHAPTER IV.

Arrival at Sirghè—Lodged in an Oda—Summoned before the Aga—Kyriacos's interview with him—Stone of mystery—Information respecting the site and remains of Bagæ—Visit to the Aga—Leave Sirghè and miss our road—Magnificent view—Peaks of Mount Ida in the Troad—Village of Sarigu—Discovery of a fine mineral spring of carbonic acid gas—Turkish washerwomen—Village of Takmaque—Arrive at Achmatla—Description of an Oda—Ancient building on the mountain behind Achmatla.

AT twenty minutes after four o'clock, having crossed the wide bed of a river, dry now, as in my first journey, and forded the Hermus at five, we arrived in another quarter of an hour at the village of Sirghè.

We halted at the conac of the Aga, but instead of being allowed the honour of lodging under his roof, he sent a man to conduct us to a *maison*, or rather *Chambre de Charité*, called an Oda; a word which literally means only cham-



ber , but *par excellence*, the chamber, or, as implied, the *stranger's chamber*. The proprietor hospitably brought us a forest of wood ; and a host of Turks favoured us with their society, among them the son of the Aga, with his brace of greyhounds in body clothes.

The Oda was, in effect, the coffee-room, or casino of the village, and the centre of attraction for every village politician. Some of our guests would readily have saved us the trouble of carrying our brandy bottles farther, and it required all the force of argument we were possessed of, to prove that they contained medicine essentially important to our health, and that we had no intention of drawing the cork till compelled by illness.

I was ungrateful to friend Kyriacos in the mode of accounting for setting off so late from Kula ; he had been otherwise and very usefully employed in the purchase of some kid, carrying it to the repository of baked heads, and superintending the cooking : we had only to warm it again, and were preparing to arrange ourselves around the dinner table, or the dinner floor, with keen appetite, when Kyriacos was summoned

before the Aga, to give some account of us ; who, and what we were, and where we were going, &c. &c.

Kyriacos was invested with the title of Tergiman, and to enable him to support it with dignity, the Damascus sabre still swung at his side, (though occasionally the wrong side,) suspended by the bright red cord. Preliminaries being over, the Teskeray of the governor of Smyrna was presented to the Aga. In the days of poor Hassan Pasha, such a Teskeray would have had more weight all the way from Smyrna to Cæsarea, than the Sultan's firman ; but the present governor of Smyrna was not a Pasha, or for some other cause, the Aga testified his dissatisfaction, and the Teskeray was returned as wholly inefficient.

The Tergiman now assuming the Memandar, instead of remaining on his knees, rose boldly upon his legs, as became a man invested with the honour of bearing the Sultan's firman, and holding the large shining document fully displayed before him, advanced his right leg, and placed it just before the eyes of his excellency the Aga. He received it with the usual marks of

respect, and read it most fluently ; too fluently, as friend Kyriacos feared, because there was mention made, more than once, of personages not now existing, as that the author was privileged to be accompanied by *janissaries*, &c. ; and, moreover, it was issued *ten* years ago. But the Aga read it, and expressed satisfaction ; and to convince those around him that he had read it, he declared it to be a firman granted to an English prince, (rather a high-sounding title for a chaplain,) and his attendants, and though somewhat antique, was nevertheless very good.

Kyriacos was now emboldened to enter upon another commission ; the inquiry for a certain stone, with an inscription relating to the town of Bagæ, which Major Keppel had seen in the Aga's conac.

This was either a fortunate or unfortunate subject ; for the Aga became serious, and with a very inquiring countenance, looked Kyriacos full in the face, and said he had long suspected some mystery attached to that stone, and was now more than ever convinced of it ; for, if it was not so, what should bring so many people from all parts perpetually to his conac to read the inscrip-

tion. "And now, you and your party with such a powerful firman, would you take the trouble to leave Smyrna, and travel at this late season of the year, to see an old stone, if there was not something more concealed than met the eye? Go back directly," said he, "present my compliments to your principals, and intreat them to let me into their secret—in return, I will conduct them myself, to-morrow morning, to the very spot where the stone was dug up."

No doubt the Aga expected a ready and immediate compliance with his request, but we were so hard-hearted, as to eat our kid, and leave him to pass the night in all the excitement of big anticipation.

From the proprietor of the Oda we had better information than the Aga could have given; for the land on which the stone of mystery was found belonged to him. Anxious to ascertain if it was really the site of the town of Bagæ, as was very probable from its being so near the Hermus, we questioned him and cross-questioned him; but all the result was, that it lies on the opposite side of the river, just a gun-shot from the Aga's conac; that few vestiges remain besides

foundations ; that in ploughing he has often found medals, but thrown them away again as of no value, and that he once found the foot of a statue.

I had long ago expected to find Bagæ on the banks of the Hermus, but certainly nearer to the town of Hushak, having seen at that place, and frequently received from thence, medals of Bagæ, and some with the Omonoia of Temenothyraë. The only medal I saw at Sirghè was of Trajanopolis ; a city which Ptolomy assigns to the Temenothyritæ, evidence that Temenothyraë was in this neighbourhood.\*

\* Sirghè, which is a small hamlet with few houses, has, notwithstanding, a manufactory of carpets, and is as Major Kappel observes, a post station. By the following route given me several years since in Smyrna, it appears that there is a road to Kutaieh from hence passing through Hushak. The writer is an Armenian merchant.

Kula	. . .	Ville.
Lela Cafë	. . .	Cafë.
Serghè	. . .	Hameau.
Izebel Cafë	. .	Cafë.
Yenisher.	. . .	Village.
Kura	. . . .	Do.
Ussac (Hushac)		Ville.
Keler	. . .	Hamreau.
Hadje Keui	. .	Village.

Il y a encore 8 heures de chemin de Hadje keui a Cutai

Major Keppel mentions a bath of sculptured rock which he saw at a spot called Hummums, "the baths," and asking our cicerone about them, he told us it lies between the cafinet of Laylay and Dopus kalesi, on the left, coming from Kula ; that besides the hot bath and sculptured rock, there exist, what Major Keppel did not see, large walls and columns erect, as lofty as those at Sardis ; clearly, therefore, in the territory of Tabala, which must be on the mountain close to the Dopus kalesi, separated by the narrow ravine on the north.

*Friday, October 26.*—While horses and *palank* were preparing, and our commissary arranging about an overcharge for milk, (and through his economy I lost my breakfast,) I consoled myself by searching for the stone of mystery, in the old conac, for it was not in the present residence of the Aga ; and having satisfied my curiosity, and

(Kutaieh) et il se trouve sur la route 6 ou 7 petits hameaux. —This was partly the route taken by Dr. Millengen on his way to Ghiediz, the ancient Cadi ; that is, as far as Yenisher, which he says is four hours from Sirghe. Major Keppel's route to Ghiediz was a different one, the first stage from Sirghe being to Selendi, three hours, on the other, or northern side of the Hermus.

returned to the Oda, we learnt that the Aga was sore displeased at our want of respect in not calling upon him, and more deeply still, that we had allowed him to pass a restless night, from not communicating the secret upon which he had set his heart.

We could, therefore, do no less than make our visit; and his excellency talked so learnedly upon mystical stones, and antiquities in general, that we graduated him LL. D., and elected him A. S. S. This visit delayed us till half-past nine o'clock, when the Aga did us the honour to accompany us to the back of the village, and point out our road; a foot-path, up and down, narrow and craggy, in the direction of south-east.

Ten minutes after ten, arriving at some cottages near large masses of gres rock, we discovered that either the aga was not as good a *guide de poste* as antiquary, or that our intellects were not as sharp as his, for we had missed the road. We were soon better directed, and came into the proper road at half-past ten, which led us by a course south-west by south to the small hamlet of Caselar.

Here friend Kyriacos, who had been a little in

the rear, willing to recover lost time, took a shorter cut, rather a dangerous experiment in Asia Minor; the result was, that we were delayed some time till the palank and paplomas ascended almost perpendicularly over masses of rolled stones.

Leaving the hamlet about eleven, and ascending to a considerable elevation on the opposite hill, we stopped a moment to observe the country we had left behind us. The original formations were to be seen to a considerable extent, presenting, as the prominent feature, a high and large level, or plateau, with the intervening spaces rent and broken by various agencies, volcanic and others. The prevailing rock continued to be what it had been almost from Cassaba, (the volcanic district excepted,) quartzous mica slate.

In the horizon, west-north-west, rose two summits or peaks, so remarkable in form, as, once seen, not to be easily forgotten:—they must be the peaks of Mount Ida in the Troad, distant from us, in a straight line, at least two hundred miles.

At twelve we had gained the summit of a high mountain, the view from which, as may be ima-



gined, was still more extensive and interesting. The road now lay through low Valonea oaks, and at half past twelve we arrived at the village of Sarigu.

Here, attracted by a bubbling spring, I alighted before my friends came up, and prepared to take a good draught; but the taste was so little like any water I had tasted before, that, though agreeable, I dared not indulge till after a consultation with the rest of our party. It was a mineral spring, containing, with some iron, a great quantity of carbonic acid; so much so, that it sparkled and tasted like champagne. Mr. Dethier instantly identified it with the water of Spa, and having spent much of his life in that neighbourhood, he must be allowed to be a competent judge. He even gave the preference to the Sarigu water, as containing more carbonic acid. Some females, washing at an adjoining fountain, spoke highly of its medicinal virtues, and as a water much drunk by invalids. We washed one of our bottles, filled and hermetically sealed it, in the hope of having it analysed by our friends in Smyrna.\*

\* Unfortunately, the bottle which had travelled safely with

Passing over an undulating country with small Valonea oaks, we came, at half past one, to the village of Derèkeuy. We are on the road to

us till within a few days of our return, was broken at Cushac, and we therefore lost both the opportunity of analysing it, and of trying the more agreeable experiments which the author of "Bubbles from the Brunnens of Nassau" tells us were in use among the visitors to the mineral springs of Langenschwalbach :—"Some like the water pure and unmixed, others dash a little sugar only in the glass ; Germans generally prefer it with Rhine wine, and French voluptuaries with champagne ; while many of the softer sex appear to be of opinion that the most delicious of all compounds is Seltzer water and milk."

As I anticipate the day when the Sarigu Spa will be in high repute, European fashions and tastes gaining such rapid ground in the land whose laws and customs have hitherto been unchangeable, I am perhaps doing an agreeable service in the foregoing and following extracts :—

"The effect produced upon the skin, by lying about twenty minutes in the bath, I, one day," says the author, "happened to overhear a short, fat Frenchman, describe to his friend in the following words : 'Monsieur, dans ces bains on devient absolument amoureux de soi même.' About as warm as milk, it is infinitely softer, and after dipping the hand into it, if the thumb be rubbed against the fingers, it may be said to feel like satin. It is no trifle to live in a skin which puts all people in good-humour—at least with themselves."

Perhaps the day will arrive when the vacant plains about Sarigu will be as abounding in stone bottles and the *elite* of Turkish society, as Langenschwalbach. But the cuisine will never be realised at Sarigu.

Kobek, and almost imagined we had arrived there, (Kobek being a dog in Turkish,) for the dogs of this village attacked us without mercy, till routed by Mr. Dethier's whip.

At two o'clock crossed a stream, where Turkish ladies were washing *à la Française*, that is, beating their clothes with a piece of wood, an operation so fashionable as to give name to the next village, Takmaque. At twenty minutes past two, some other Turkish ladies were differently employed at a fountain, in washing cotton which had been dyed with valonea and a black mud that is found in considerable quantity close by. They were cheered in their labours by the music of the squeaking wheels of buffalo carts.

The country still presents the same appearance, open, with Valonea oaks, till we arrive, at half past two, at Takmaque, a village, which the handsome mosque and an old square conac seem to prove had seen better days. The latter, the conac, we were told by our cicerone Milcom, on the report of others—for this was his first visit as well as ours, had stood many a siege against numerous assailants, when in possession of its original builder, a Bim bashi, or colonel in the service of Cara Osman.

Our course was now east ; and after passing over the same open country and Valonea oaks, with a formation of gres, (sand-stone,) we arrived at the village of Achmatla at twenty minutes before four. For a considerable time before our arrival we had seen in the extreme distance on our right a range of mountains topped with snow, (Mount Cadmus,) and about the middle distance was a remarkable white patch, resembling the pambouks of Hierapolis, and the incrustations beyond Chonas ; but it could be neither of these, and subsequently proved to be the white quarries, or avalanches of Cuslar, which I had formerly seen between Tripolis and Ishekli, and near which were the ruins of an ancient town.\*

\* “ The village of Cuslar, in the vineyards around which the vines were supported by tall stakes, an unusual sight in Turkey. The mountains were here calcareous, nearly white, in horizontal strata. About eight o'clock we ascended one of these, which had the appearance of an open quarry ;—immense masses had been detached, and rolled down the mountain side, leaving it quite naked of soil, and of a dazzling white, painful to the eyes. It seemed as if an enormous avalanche had detached itself from the mountain top, exposing the side perpendicularly to a great depth. On the level space at the top of this mountain, we saw on our right great heaps of ruins ; I rode among

We were installed again in an excellent Oda, most hospitably and gratuitously entertained ; the good Turks full of kind attentions, giving us much information in return for a cup of coffee, and affording me an opportunity of displaying medical talent.

It was not till the present journey that I was aware of the precise nature of these Odas, and of their universality throughout Asia Minor. They are not endowed or supported by the government, but are entirely private charities. One at least is to be found in every village throughout the country, and often several in a small village. The original founder charges his estate, be it great or little, with the perpetual maintenance of the Oda ; and it seems in most cases to be the tenure by which the estate is held. Nor is this

them, and observed foundations of walls, door-cases, &c. ; but the stones, though of very large size, being all of the same calcareous kind, were much decayed, and I could find no inscriptions. Some Turcomans, driving an immense herd of goats, told me the place was called Cuslarda, and that there were extensive ruins. Other Turcomans were here employed in "treading out their corn," (*dari*.) with oxen. At an hour's distance were other ruins. The town seems to have been buried by an earthquake."—*Visit to the Seven Churches*, p. 231.

confined to the wealthy ; it as frequently happens that even a poor man, whose little spot of ground is barely sufficient, after paying the Aga's decimes, &c. to find bread for his children, charges them to keep a chamber (perhaps the whole house has only two) as an Oda for the stranger. No questions are asked of this stranger whether he be a disciple of the prophet, a Christian, or a Jew—it is enough that he is a stranger, and needs the rights of hospitality. He is provided gratuitously with food, and fuel, and lodging, and even the liberality is extended to his beast.

We abuse the Turk, and call him a barbarian ; but where is the country in civilized Europe, that a poor, distressed traveller, faint and sinking under his privations, and without a farthing to procure a bit of bread, or a shed to shelter him from the winter's storm—where is that country ?—let the abusers of the uncivilized Turk answer the question,--Where is that country in which such a poor wretch will find from village to village a warm-hearted reception, lodging, and food ?

We retired to rest with our minds so full of this admirable charity, that my friend Dethier

dreamt of it all the night ; and his dream was so singular and amusing, that I regret not to have made a note of it. Alas ! that we do not live in the days of Joseph and Daniel !

*Saturday, October 27.*—We rose and breakfasted earlier than usual, in order to see what, from the relations of our imaginative Turkish friends last night, had strongly excited our curiosity.

About half an hour from the village we ascended a mountain, on the summit of which was a mass of rock. Within this were cut two small apartments or caves : the roof of the one was circular within, while the other had an angular ceiling. Both have square doorways like the entrances to tombs. In the first is a small niche, as if for a statue, on the end wall opposite the entrance ; and in the other, several words are scrawled about upon the walls, as

ΟΣ ΔΙΟΝ

ΓΑ ΔΙΟΝΥ

ΑΚΜΑΧΗ, &c.

which may possibly mean a dedication to Bacchus. The rock is shaped circularly above,

with steps to ascend the summit. Cisterns are to be seen in various directions.

Our Turkish cicerone called it a *monasteri*, a general name for all ancient remains, whether religious or otherwise, and said that in another *monasteri*, not many miles off, for he pointed out the situation to us towards the north, there were a great number of similar caves, and that it is called the Forty Tombs.\*

The Turks constantly use a definite for an indefinite number, as 5, 40, and 1000. The *Binbir Klissi*, or thousand and one churches—the thousand and one of the Arabian Tales—*Kirkagatch*, the forty trees, and the forty thieves.

\* This must be in the direction of *Yenisher*, “the new city,” a name which, wherever it occurs, is a sure indication of an ancient one having formerly stood in its vicinity. In my first journey I supposed it to have been *Clanudda* of the *Tabular Itinerary* on the Roman road from *Philadelphia* to *Dorylæum*, which Colonel Leake correctly remarks could not have been far from the site of *Yenisher*. I had not then discovered the important ruins described in the next chapter; and therefore I should be much disposed to think the ancient town near *Yenisher* was *Temenothyraë*, and the forty tombs of the Turkish cicerone the numerous sepulchres at that place. The many medals which I have bought and seen in this neighbourhood are evidences that *Temenothyraë* was very near, if not actually, *t*, *Yenisher*.



So the reader will subsequently see that the same unfortunate application of *bes**h*, five, led the author and his friends a tantalizing dance in pursuit of Besh-sher, a Pentapolis, or *five* ancient cities.

## CHAPTER V.

Leave Achmatla in search of the ruins of Suleiman—Inhabited caves—Disappointment succeeded by surprise on arriving at the ruins—First view of the Acropolis—Arrive at the village of Suleiman—Ascend the Acropolis—Theatre—Ancient walls—Stadium, or portico—Gateway—Ionic temple—Another—Temple dedicated to the Emperor Claudius—Doric portico, &c.—Inscriptions and medals—Innumerable tombs, many inhabited, or used for cattle—Paintings within the tombs—The “large stone” not yet “rolled away”—Ground plan of the ruins—Conjectures on the ancient name—Arguments in favour of Clanudda.

WE left Achmatla at twenty minutes past ten, not without having taken another look at the fine view which lay at an immense depth and distance in front of our Oda. We are to-day to enter upon an important part of our projected tour, and to ascertain the existence of some ruins which are said by the Turks of Hushak to be at a place called Suleiman, near Kobek, though hitherto wholly unknown to Europeans.

The road lay through a country of the same appearance as yesterday, open, and with Valonea oaks. Twenty minutes before eleven brought us to that great blessing to the weary traveller—a fountain; after which the road became a bad rocky one, with high-pointed naked rocks on the left. Our course was south-east by south, and at half past eleven we were on the road leading from Takmaque to Kobek. At twenty minutes before twelve, having descended to a well and burial-ground, we leave the Kobek road to the left; course as before, south-east by south.

Five minutes after, I fancied myself in the island of Milo, seeing two natural caves or grottoes in a calcareous rock on the left. Entering one of them, we found they served the double purpose of dwelling-house and stable—a chimney and some house-keeping articles being in one corner, and cattle feeding quietly in the innermost apartment.

At five minutes before twelve, having crossed a small stream, we found near it some beautiful specimens of mica on quartz, though the general formation was gres and mica slate. At ten minutes after twelve we crossed the dry bed of a

river, and ascend. In ten minutes more we cross the great road leading from Hushak to Philadelphia, and passing through Einè, said to be one hour distant on our left, and almost immediately after we cross two other roads leading in the same direction; a proof that it was a road well frequented in modern, and most probably in ancient, times.

We were now anxiously looking around in every direction for the promised ruins; they were said to be within three hours from Achmatla, and we had already exceeded two. The view was an extensive one over a very open country, and yet we could see nothing like a ruin, or any spot elevated enough for an acropolis. We rode on, therefore, at a sullen pace, and both horses and riders seemed to sympathize in the disappointment.

At length we saw on our left a ruined building, which rather increased than removed our ill-humour, for it seemed quite insignificant. We had, in effect, abandoned all hope of finding any thing to repay the trouble of the journey: but, at half-past one, when having got into a great road which descended through an open country, as be-

fore, covered with Valonea, we caught the first view of an immense mountain immediately in front, rising out of the valley, of a light yellowish calcareous stone in numerous horizontal strata, eaten by the lapse of thousands of years, and with innumerable excavations for tombs ; especially when we saw crowning the summit the columns and entablatures of a superb temple, we were as much surprised as we had been disappointed.

The rocks on either side, as we descended into the valley, were perforated also with tombs ; we entered several, and found some had been shut by handsomely sculptured doors, which were lying in fragments before the entrances.

When at the bottom of the valley, the calcareous mountain on our right, a precipitous mass of great height, presented a most singular appearance ; surmounted by fantastic figures, which, though natural, seemed carved like the gigantic sculptures of India or Egypt, and subsequently decomposed by time !

Following the bed of a small stream, though probably in another season a considerable river, we arrived at the village of Suleiman ; the houses



THE CLIFF

ROUTES AT SONGHAI, CHINA, 1900.

Published by W. H. Freeman & Co., London, 1902.



were few in number ; some of the families dwelling with their cattle in the tombs.

We were kindly received at the Oda, but our impatience would scarcely suffer us to receive the “ Hosh gelde ” of the Oda bashi, and we walked off at a quick rate to explore the wonders of the acropolis.

The road leading round the east or south-east side, brought us first to the theatre, of which the remains of seats are few, though enough of the basement of the proscenium remains to determine its form ; the breadth being about ninety feet.

Beyond and above this, the wall of the acropolis is seen extending a considerable way ; and entering through a ruined doorway, we came to what at first view appeared to be the stadium, a long and narrow hollow with remains of entrances on the northern side ; but we changed our opinion afterwards—it may have been a portico.

Near this is an arch more than half buried, and a few yards beyond, towards the north or north-east, are the considerable remains of a large



gateway of yellow stone, with some fragments of an earlier date.

Arrived here, we could perceive that we were on a tongue of land or isthmus ; the acropolis on three sides being nearly a precipice, and on the north, or fourth, defended by the city wall, of which this gateway formed the entrance, at the neck of the isthmus, being here only about seventy feet wide.

Passing through the gate and without the walls, on a narrow terrace, overlooking a valley of great depth, are the basement and members of a temple of white sculptured marble ; a little beyond which, the prostrate remains of another temple, which, from the beautiful Ionic ornaments, we should call an Ionic temple, if the remains of a statue in Roman costume, probably an emperor, did not make it more probable that the order was composite. Still farther on the same continued line, the basement, elevated on some steps, of another and a smaller temple.

Immediately in front of this last temple, on the brow of the mountain or terrace overlooking the valley, are three arches, about fifteen feet

wide, and ten feet high ; there are appearances of other arches continued some way beyond.

Returning now to the gateway, and proceeding through it to the south-west, we saw a large heap of white marble, with the basement of another temple. This, from an imperfect inscription which we found, was probably erected in honour of the Emperor Claudius.

NIATEMPLVMETPORT

Nia templum et Port (as)

ONXI

ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟ—Κλαυδίου.

The blocks were immense, and the ornaments, like the former, principally Ionic; though, not seeing a single capital or pedestal, we could not decide positively on the order. The pillars were fluted, and two feet and a half in diameter.

A little beyond this stand four square columns of yellow stone, with Doric capitals, supporting a Doric architrave. It appears there were sixteen of these columns in a line, forming the outer portico of the temple. Several columns of a different character, fourteen at least, stand a little beyond, or to the south of the last ; and far-

ther still to the south or south-west, about two hundred feet, is a considerable mass of building, consisting of numerous square columns with square architraves.

Had this been circular, instead of forming nearly a square, it would have resembled, when seen from some distance, the perpendicular masses and transverse beams of Stonehenge. I am not an architect, and cannot therefore presume to decide on the original destination of this edifice, which has numerous square apertures, as for windows and doorways.

Other heaps and columns are scattered about in every direction, but I suffered so much from cold that I was compelled to leave Mr. Dethier, and return to the village. The view from the acropolis is most magnificent, commanding a great extent of country in every direction.

Feet.

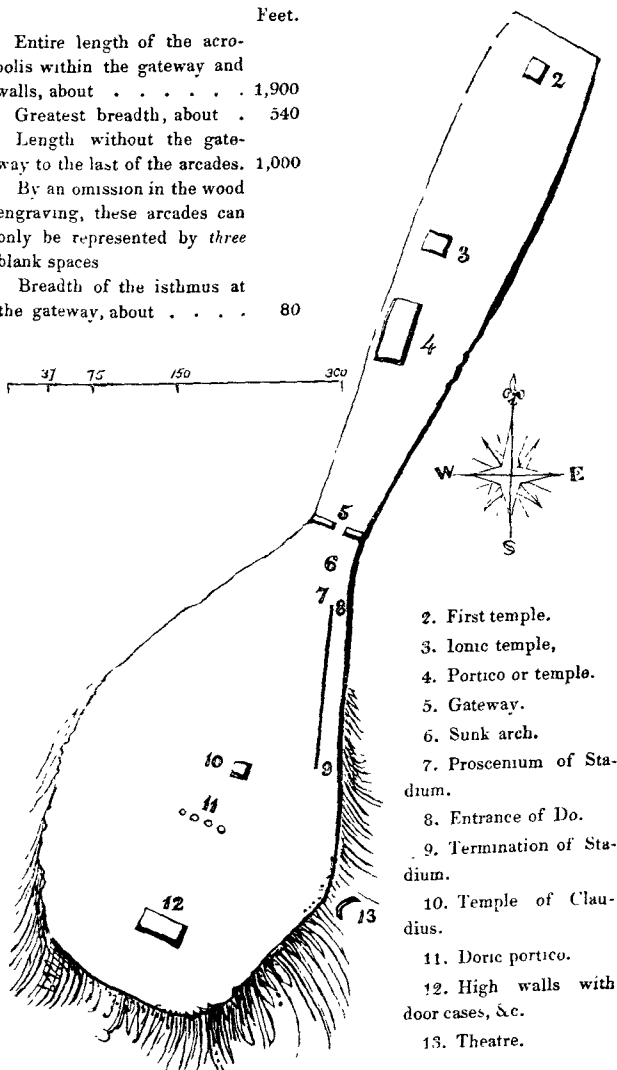
Entire length of the acropolis within the gateway and walls, about . . . . . 1,900

Greatest breadth, about . . . . . 540

Length without the gateway to the last of the arcades. 1,000

By an omission in the wood engraving, these arcades can only be represented by *three* blank spaces

Breadth of the isthmus at the gateway, about . . . . . 80



*Ground plan of the ruins at Suleiman, Claudda.*

The form of the ground commencing with the arcades near No. 2, at the northern or north-eastern extremity, terminating in the precipice over against the village beyond No. 12, has an extraordinary resemblance to a Turkish musical instrument, a sort of narrow guitar, with a long neck—the length terminating at the gateway or neck of the isthmus, and the acropolis answering to the body of the instrument; and to carry the allusion farther, the temple of Claudius, and the Doric portico, would be just in the centre of the instrument, where the strings pass over the sound-hole, and the great mass of ruins at No. 12 would be nearly in the situation of the bridge of the guitar.

The gateway is clearly of later erection than the other buildings, being constructed for the most part with the same kind of yellow stone as the Doric portico, and evidently once belonging to it, for on some of the blocks the Doric dentalls yet remain.

Returned to our Oda, we had many visitors to the Hakim bashi, after which, accompanied by Kyriacos, we walked through the village in pursuit of inscriptions, and, what was more essen-

tial to hungry stomachs, some goat's flesh ! We saw two inscriptions only ; but the one was sepulchral, and the other, which had the words Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ, without the name of the city, only served to tantalize.

1. ΔΣΑΛΟΥΙΟΣΚΡΙΣΠΟΣ  
ΕΑΥΤΩΙΚΑΙΚΟΥΣΙΝΙΑΔΙ  
ΦΙΡΜΙΑΛΗΙΤΗΡΥΝΑΙ  
ΚΙΤΟΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝΕΠΟΙ  
ΗΣΕΝ . ΖΩΣΙΝ  
ΤΟΥΤΟΤΟΜΝΗΜΕΙ  
ΟΝΚΑΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΙΣ  
ΟΥΚΑΚΟΛΟΥΤΗΗΣΕΝ

Lucius Salvius Crispus sibi et Cousinidi Firmillæ  
Uxori viventibus monumentum fecit.  
Hoc monumentum hæredibus non secutum est.

2 ΟΔΗΜΟΣ  
ΤΩΙΚΑΙΣΑ (ΡΙΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΙ  
(ΚΑΙΠΑΤΡΙΘΕΩΙ  
Populus Cæsari Augusto  
et Patri Deo.

In the evening many small coins were brought us, and though in so corroded a state that it was hopeless to make out a letter, I did not cease rubbing and cleaning till I found two were of Ephesus, two of Kutaieh, one of Sebaste, and one of Blaundos ; and yet the whole of these were unquestionably found upon the spot. The

ruins of Suleiman certainly have nothing to do with the two former cities ; what claim Sebaste and Blaundos may have will be hereafter considered.

Our goats' flesh was unnecessary ; the dinner of charity was spread before us, and the 'Trakana soup was soothing to my cold.

*Sunday, October 28.* On the mountain side, which rises steeply behind the houses, and opposite the acropolis, are tombs without number. Many of these are converted into capital houses for buffaloes. We went into several. In one, which was a family vault, having six or seven arched recesses for tombs, for they are excavated out of the rock, we found paintings *en fresco* ornamenting the three innermost recesses. The subject was the same in all—a partridge very correctly drawn and coloured, with flowers covering the rest of the wall, but indifferently done, though the colours were very fresh.

We entered another, and found above a dozen burial places, and a communication on the right and left with other vaults. In one place, the small square doorway, to enter which you must *more than stoop*, had been recently opened, and

the *large stone* was still before the door, recalling instantly the recollection of Him, of whom the angel of the Lord, who had rolled away the stone and sat upon it, announced the glad tidings to the sorrowing and affectionate females who came to embalm the body, "Fear not ye ; for I know that ye seek Jesus which was crucified. He is not here ; for he is risen as he said : come, see the place where the Lord lay."

It is remarkable, that among such a vast multitude of tombs, we did not see a single sarcophagus.

It is time to conjecture, for we can do no more than conjecture, till a future traveller finds positive proof, what this ancient city may have been. It is quite clear from its position beyond the limits of Lydia or Mæonia, that it must be in Phrygia, and in that province called Phrygia Pacatiana, which was again divided into two provinces, Pacatiana prima, and Pacatiana secunda ; in the first the Notitiæ place twenty-nine, in the second, five cities.

*Pacatiana Prima.*

- |                  |                       |
|------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Laodicea,     | 3. Azani,             |
| 2. Tiberiopolis, | 4. Itoana, or Bitona. |



- |                      |                     |
|----------------------|---------------------|
| 5. Ancyra Ferrea,    | 18. Ilusa,          |
| 6. Cidissus,         | 19. Nea, or Sanaus. |
| 7. Ægara, or Aliana, | 20. Chæretape,      |
| 8. Pelte,            | 21. Colossæ,        |
| 9. Apira,            | 22. Sinaus,         |
| 10. Cadi,            | 23. Philippopolis,  |
| 11. Trajanopolis,    | 24. Themisonium,    |
| 12. Sebaste,         | 25. Sanis,          |
| 13. Eumenia,         | 26. Acmonia,        |
| 14. Temenothyra,     | 27. Theodosiopolis. |
| 15. Aliena,          | 28. Blaundos,       |
| 16. Trapezopolis,    | 29. Atanassus.      |
| 17. Silbium,         |                     |

*Pacatiana Secunda.*

1. Hierapolis, the metropolis, 2. Dionysopolis,  
3. Anastasiopolis, 4. Mosynus, 5. Attudi.

In this list are included both Sebaste and Blaundos, of which medals were dug up at Suleiman. There is, however, reason to believe it was neither Sebaste nor Blaundos, but Clanudda; of which the name only occurs in the Roman Itinerary, called the Peutinger Tables.

The great road from Dorylæum to Philadelphia, according to these tables, passed through the following places :

Cocleo . . . .	30 miles, supposed by Colonel Leake Kutaieh, but by me Dicoclia.
Agmonia . . . .	35
Aludda . . . .	25
Clanudda . . . .	30
Philadelphia . .	35
	<hr/>
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Now, if this be correct, Hushak would fall nearly in the direct line from Dorylæum. So the distance between Kutaieh and Aludda, supposing Cocleo to be a mistake for Cotiæum, sixty miles, nearly agrees with the distance between Kutaieh and Hushak, where we must then place Aludda. From Hushak to Suleiman is about eight hours, which would agree sufficiently well with the thirty miles between Aludda and Clanudda, and the distance from Clanudda to Philadelphia thirty-five miles, agrees perfectly with the caravan calculation from Suleiman to Alahsher.

We had the following information at Suleiman respecting the road leading from Hushak to Philadelphia (Alahsher) without passing by Yenisher :

Hushak to Einè (or Inne) a village of 100 Turkish houses,  
6 hours.

Einè to Euruke-keuy, a village of 50 or 60 Turkish  
houses, 3 hours.

Euruke-keuy to Alahsher, (Philadelphia.) 9 hours.

At one hour and a half from Euruke-keuy, the road passes through a ravine for three hours, afterwards in the plain all the way to Alahsher. The river, no doubt the Cogamus, is crossed one hour and a half before arriving at Alahsher.\*

Einè (or Innè) is about an hour and half or two hours from Suleiman towards the north-west.

Colonel Leake supposed Clanudda to be a false reading, and professed himself unable to discover the true one; but, subsequently, in a note to Major Keppel's "Journey across the Balcan," he says, "When I published the Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor, I hazarded the opinion, that the name Clanudda, occurring in no authority but the Tabular Itinerary, was a corruption. I have lately learned, however, that a coin exists in the possession of a gentleman at Smyrna, H. Borrell, Esq. bearing the inscription *Κλαυνουδέων*."

Besides the medal alluded to by Colonel Leake, another was several years since in the

\* In a friend's journal, I find the following route from Hushak to Philadelphia.

Ushak to the village of Inny . . 18 miles

Inny (Einè) to Doukmaklee . . . 9 miles (Qy. Takmaklee ?)

Doukmaklee to Alahsher . . . . 40 miles

possession of the Earl of Ashburnham. I have seen both, and the types are the same.

In the MS. catalogue of Mr. Borrell, this medal is thus described: "Youthful head wearing a singularly formed helmet to the right."

"ΚΑΑΝΝΟΥΔΕΩΝ—Bull in a butting attitude on one knee.

"The type on the obverse is rather disfigured by being what is technically termed double-struck, and for that reason it is difficult to explain what effigy is there intended; the preservation in other respects is perfect, and the legend very distinct. On the reverse the type is the same, as frequently occurs on the cities of Cibyra, Tabæ, and several other cities; that is, a peculiar species of bull with a hump on his back, which appears to have been peculiar to the plains of Asia Minor."—*Borrell's MS. Catalogue.*

I should take this bull to be nothing more than the buffalo, unless the following extract from Solinus (rather from Pliny) describes a different animal. "In his locis, (the vicinity of Mount Tmolus,) animal nascitur, quod *bonasum* dicunt, cui taurinum caput ac deinceps corpus omne, tantum *juba equina*; cornua autem ita

multiplici flexu in se recurrentia, ut si quis in ea offendat, non vulneretur. Sed quicquid præsidii monstro illi frons negat, alvus sufficit. Nam cùm in fugam vertitur, proluvie cite ventris fimum egerit pro longitudinem trium jugerum, cujus ardor quicquid attigerit, adurit. Ita egerie noxia summovet insequentes.”—*Solini Polyhistor*. p. 320.

As well as I can recollect, the medal once in the cabinet of the Earl of Ashburnham, had some of the letters, though well preserved, in monogram, and unless the first letter be decidedly a K, a doubt might arise if it be not a corruption of BAAOYNΔEΩN, as I found two medals of Blaundos at Suleiman, one of which I read for a considerable time AAYΔΔEΩN, and imagined the ruins to be of Auldda, instead of Clanudda ; but afterwards discovering another letter preceding the A, which was clearly a B, it evidently belonged to Blaundos. It is of the third size, and the inscription within a wreath of laurel.

## CHAPTER VI.

Leave Suleiman—Town of Kobek—Site of a battle—Arrive at Village of Cooselare—Oda contributions—Prevailing disease at Cooselare—Ride to Besh-sheh—Disappointment—Return to Cooselare—Digression to Hushak—Adventure of Kyriacos in that town—Extracts from his letters—Inscriptions at Hushak—Illustration of Psalm 109—Hushak probably on the site of Aludda, the name changed in later times to Flaviopolis—Road between Hushak and Davala from my former journey—Korray—Yenisher—Davala.

WE could have remained at Suleiman a month, and found ample employment for research; the tombs alone must contain treasures, and probably many curious specimens of ancient paintings; but we were compelled reluctantly to leave it at a quarter before one o'clock, the road lying along the slope of the acropolis among the tombs. At ten minutes after one, we were in an open

country with Valonea ; course east by north, and at ten minutes before two, at a fountain ; still in an open country, and good caravan road.

It was twenty minutes before three when we arrived at the town of Kobek, of prepossessing appearance, with its minarets and conac. Immediately before the entrance of the town is an extensive cemetery, with so great a quantity of columns and other fragments, all brought, as we were told, from Suleiman, as much to increase our opinion of the importance of that place. We were told that Kobek has about seven hundred houses, all Turkish, and six mosques.

If a traveller could remain a day here, and be permitted to see the inscriptions which unquestionably must exist in the mosques and private houses, the name of the city at Suleiman would speedily be brought to light. We had no time, and left the place again at ten minutes before three.

In proof of the supposition that many inscribed stones exist in the town, we found one on a fountain just outside it ; it is sepulchral, for the family of Gaius Mummius, but has no allusion to the name of the city.

Γαιον Μουμμιον Μαρκου υιον ε Κολλεινα Μαρκον Φιλοπατριν  
Γαιος Μουμμιος Κανων και Μουμμια αγαπη των πατρων εκ  
των ιδιων.

Caium Mummium Marci filium e Collina\*  
Marcum Philopatrim, Caius Mummus  
Canon et Mummia amore Patrum †  
De sua pecunia.

At half past three, Milcom again assumed the cicerone, and he had better grounds for what he told us, than in his details of the siege of the conac at Takmaque, because here he was a party concerned.

He shewed us the spot, where, twenty-two years ago, there had been a battle between two rival colonels of Kara Osman Oglou. The force on both sides was cavalry, and Milcom, unapprized, passed by at the moment when victory having declared itself in favour of one party, the others were in full flight, closely pursued. He shewed us a projecting rock behind which he sheltered himself, while the combatants flew by, and he narrowly escaped many a passing shot.

At four o'clock our course was north-east, over an extensive plain; and at twenty-five

\* One of the Roman Tribes. † Their father and grandfather.



minutes after four we dismounted at our conac, another Oda in the village of Cooselare or Cuselare. It was certainly not a palace, for we shared it with our horses, and there were holes called windows, without glass or shutters ; but the hospitality of our hosts more than compensated for every thing else.

We had again Trakana soup, pilau, cheese, and petmes,\* and surprised to see our table-cloth, or table-skin so soon laid, the pancake bread placed all around,† and the smoking viands in the midst ; the more surprising, as we were unexpected guests ; and as the village did not bespeak very well filled purses, or, to say truth, seemed

\* Petmes. The must of the grapes of the vintage made into a syrup by boiling.

Trakana, or Turkana. The principal ingredient is flower of different grains, which, with some savoury additions, is formed into a sort of sausage shape, and being hung up dry, keeps a long time, and makes, when dissolved, a palatable nutritious scup.

† These are large circular cakes, very thin, which may be folded up like a piece of leather, and commonly are so when eaten. Perhaps these are the very cakes to which Polybius alludes when he compares the targets of the Roman horsemen to the cakes called *Popana*, which, according to Suidas, were broad round thin cakes.—*Polybius, book vi. sect. 47.*

wretchedly poor, we ventured to ask an explanation, and we learnt that our fare was the contribution of many families : the Trakana soup was supplied by one ; the pilau by a second ; the petmes by a third ; the bread by a fourth—but all were emulous to feed the famished strangers with as little loss of time as possible : and these were Turks !

Long before our dinner was dispatched, the entire male population of the village, which consists only of about twenty houses, distributed themselves in the spaces of our apartment unoccupied by our horses and ourselves. Kyriacos beginning to expatiate on the wonders of the ancient city we had found at Suleiman, our visitors caught the infection of antiquarianism, and we were overwhelmed with accounts of the marvellous ruins that were to be seen in the east, west, north, and south.

But what was more wonderful than any thing else, were the ruins of an ancient town about three hours from the village, and called Besh-sheer. From the glowing description of our informants, there were columns without number, erect, cas-

bles, &c., which we translated to mean temples, theatres, and amphitheatres.

If we had been disposed to doubt the correctness of what we were told, there was something so fascinating in the very name, Besh-sher, a literal translation, as we thought, of an ancient Pentapolis, (though I knew of no such that could exist there,) that we resolved to depart from the route we had laid down, and to devote at least one day, to be amply repaid by the discovery of “*five*” ancient *cities*. Like the learned aga of Sirghè, our rest was not a little disturbed by the fever of anticipation, more than by the heads and heels of our horses, which occasionally trespassed beyond the border-ground.

*Monday, Oct. 29.*—The elevated situation of Cuselare, appears so favourable to health, and the general appearance of the villagers bore such evidence of its being so, that we were surprised to have our researches of Besh-sher delayed till ten o'clock, by the multitude of patients coming to consult the Hakim.

Our medical science was not sufficiently profound to decide correctly on the nature of the dis-

order—for all were effected precisely in the same way, with tumours and boils behind the ears, on the breast, hands, and feet. The females and children were most severely attacked, and it was not a passing epidemic, but a disorder long seated in the village, and, as far as we could learn, the only disorder it was subject to.

Possibly the scarcity of water, and that of an indifferent quality, may be a principal cause. In addition to our pill-box, we thought the hot baths, which we heard of as being about two hours to the south of Cuselare, might be beneficial, and recommended them to our patients.

At last we mounted for Besh-sher, at ten o'clock; the road lay over an open naked country, in a direction north-west-by-north, till about a quarter before twelve, when turning to the left, we crossed another road, in a thick wood of Valonea and Pines, and at twenty minutes past twelve arrived by a circuitous path at what our cicerone, for we had taken one with us, declared to be the ruins of Besh-sher.

It is true, we had seen nothing yet but a heap or two of old scoria, as if a foundery had once existed there. We now alighted with great glee, and, nothing doubting that the theatres and tem-

ples were hid by the trees, intreated our guide to lead us at once to them.

We were accordingly conducted to some heaps of stones lying on the ground, with nothing but their size to prove their claim to any antiquity; afterwards to similar heaps, in different directions; but neither temple, nor theatre, nor even columns, were to be seen, either erect or prostrate.

Unwilling yet to suppose we had been misinformed, we walked in every direction, but with as little success. There were evidently ruins of a town, but not of older date than the Bas Empire.

It is, notwithstanding, probable that a temple anciently existed on the site of Besh-sheer, from the size and form of many of the stones. In one spot there was a small square aperture, evidently connected with a cistern beneath—and in another place some stones of a red colour, whether naturally or from fire, which, from having dentals, had been employed in an earlier edifice, now composed the foundation of a small building with a *circular end*, which, added to its position east and west, induced us to suppose it had been a small chapel.

With all our researches, we could make out nothing more, and therefore at two o'clock remounted our steeds in a sullen mood, and on returning to our Oda we might have repeated the exclamation of the Roman emperor, if we had always made as good use of our time.

It is the usage at these houses of charity to receive the stranger only for a single night, as was, and still is, the usage of some religious houses in Europe; and we entered the village with the uncomfortable expectation of being civilly told to seek other lodgings, which could not be found nearer than some hours off. It was therefore an agreeable surprise, to be welcomed again quite as heartily as last night, and quite as hospitably entertained with excellent soup, and pilau, and village *conversazione*. Notwithstanding all which, we could not avoid venting a little of our disappointment on the gentlemen who had sent us to Pentapolis.

Anxious to replace themselves in our good opinion, they gave us very circumstantial details of other grand ruins which we were to see to-morrow early in our road to Segiclar.

As we were now within a few hours distance

of Hushak, I would willingly have gone thither to examine its remains of antiquity more minutely, with the view of determining the ancient town of which it occupies the site, but it was not consistent with the plan we had laid down, and would have incroached too much upon the short time we had to spare. The reader possibly has never seen the account of it in my first journey, I will therefore beg him to make this little excursion with me once more, before we proceed from Cuselare to Segiclar.

Hushak, or Ushak, is a large town, and is said to contain one hundred and fifty Greek houses, thirty-five Armenian, and the exaggerated number of ten thousand Turkish—perhaps one-third would be nearer the truth; one Greek and one Armenian church, and fifteen large mosques, and many smaller ones.

It owes its present importance to the manufacture of carpets, which are so considerable a branch of merchandize at Smyrna; and as Mr. Dallaway justly remarks, the excellence of the ancient Phrygian tapestry is continued to the present day. The *Afion*, or liquid opium, of which great quantities are made in the district

extending from *Affiun kara hissar* to Hushak, is another important article of commerce.

It is impossible to walk about the streets of Hushak without feeling convinced that it occupies the site of an ancient, and that no inconsiderable city. Ancient marbles and inscriptions are to be seen in all directions; but the latter were all sepulchral, and none that I saw had any allusion to the ancient name. A massy building stands near the khan, the front of which is ornamented with numerous sculptures and inscriptions, (for the most part illegible,) which had adorned Greek tombs. They have for the most part, within a circular arch, four square compartments, in each of which are emblems, distinguishing the various mechanical employments of the deceased.

The castle of Hushak, of which the following account is given by Mr. Dallaway, is another evidence of its ancient importance. Hadji Morad Oglou, Aga of Hushak, upon a quarrel with the Porte, fortified his old castle, which had great advantage of ground, laid in ammunition and stores sufficient for three years, assembled his



vassals, and bade defiance. Kara Osman Oglou, his neighbour, was directed to compel him to obedience, but on the first encounter lost a thousand men, without effect. He applied to the Porte for artillery, and laid stronger siege to the fortress, when the garrison having been bribed to betray their undaunted chief, he was immediately executed, and his head exposed on the gate of the Seraglio.

The history of this commotion bears unfavourable traits of the Turkish government. One of the feudal tenants, the intimate friend of the Hadji, refused to obey the Sultan's command, and the punishment of his disobedience was required from him, in the cruel service of sending the head of his friend to Constantinople. The sacrifice he made, by his refusal, to his attachment and humanity, involved these dreadful consequences, the loss of his own life, and the ruin of his posterity.

I am indebted to my good friend Kyriacos for much information respecting the town and neighbourhood, the result of his inquiries while upon the spot. As an introduction to the extracts from

his letters, it is my duty to relate an adventure which befel him, and to which his zeal to oblige me mainly contributed.

In the month of October, or early part of Nov. 1827, Kyriacos, who had been for some weeks residing at Hushak, making purchases of carpets, was the inmate of a house, from which, on one unfortunate evening, a visitor, who had taken a little too liberally of the Mæonian or Phrygian grape, sallied out to retire to his home. He was so incapable of guiding his steps, that Kyriacos, in the kindness of his heart, though a perfect stranger to the man, determined to see him safely lodged in his own house, that he might not be a victim to Turkish violence, as was too probable, on his road.

He took the inebriated man by the arm, and for a while succeeded in getting him along; but whether he became more unmanageable, or whether Kyriacos was not sufficiently acquainted with the intricacies of the streets of Hushak, certain it is, that night became very far advanced before they had proceeded many steps in the right direction.

In a short time more Kyriacos became bewil-

dered, and naturally enough lost his road, his protégé being no longer in a state to set him right. Notwithstanding, they stumbled and stumbled along, till, as ill fate would have it, they stumbled on a Turkish guard, which was passing that way.

By the regulations of Turkish police, no one is allowed to be abroad after sunset, without carrying or being accompanied by a *fanari*, or lanthorn—at least such is the usage in Ionian Smyrna, and such it seems was the fashion also in Phrygian Hushak. Kyriacos never dreamt of conforming to this established usage, and the Turkish authorities soon demanded, in no very polite language, where was the lanthorn, and why they presumed to be abroad after dark without it.

To the first interrogatory, Kyriacos replied by pointing to the full moon shining in all her glory, and showing so strong a light that you might pick up a pin. For the rest, he pointed to the unsteady gait of his companion, and in a few words told them both his charitable object and ill fortune in losing his way.

This did not satisfy the men in power; they decided that it must be *dark*, because it was after

sunset, and that a lanthorn was indispensable ; and that, with regard to the moon, they had nothing to do with her. And, as to the second, they contended that it would be rendering most essential service to both the man and Kyriacos himself to keep them safely lodged in the guard-house. Remonstrance was vain, and they spent the night, as many a fashionable gentleman in London has after a frolic, in the watchhouse.\*

\* How rigidly this regulation is occasionally enforced, may be inferred from the following circumstance. Several years ago, in a village near Smyrna, two highly respectable Franks, one of them, from the warmth of his piety and benevolence, cannot be better designated than as the *Christian Philanthropist* of Smyrna, were so completely absorbed in discussing a subject of considerable interest as they walked up and down the principal road of the village, that the day insensibly wore away, the sun uncharitably left them, and the shades of the evening were sinking into darkness, without rousing them into a consciousness that it was not still broad daylight. The arguments on either side grew every moment warmer and warmer, when the Turkish guard found them in the midst of the debate ; and as no satisfactory reason was given why they were abroad without a *fauari*, both gentlemen were unceremoniously escorted to the guard-house. So intense, however, was the interest of the discussion, that this forcible placing of their persons in durance did not abate the vigour of the mind, and it was not till having finished the subject, seated on the floor of the guard-house, that they became quite awake to their actual situation, and made themselves known to the officer on guard.

The following morning they were brought before the chief inspector of the division A, and fined a considerable sum. Kyriacos contended stoutly against the sentence : he was a stranger, and the bye-laws of Hushak could have no force upon a citizen of Smyrna. He was a respectable marchand de tapis, well known to the carpet manufacturers in Hushak.

“ All that may be,” said the Hadji Bey of Hushak ; “ but we know more of you than you choose to confess just now. What can your object have been in inquiring about all the roads east and west, north and south—from Hushak to Stamboul, and Hushak to Afion, and Hushak to Isbarta, and Hushak to Denezli, and to hunt after all the old castles in the neighbourhood, but to assist the infidels to take possession of Anadoli, after having sunk and blown up all our fleet at Navarino ?”

Kyriacos began to feel the back part of his neck, and after having consented to pay a mitigated fine, was glad to get off so cheaply, and ran away back to Smyrna as fast as he could, resolving never again to conduct a drunken man without a lanthorn, nor to make antiquarian researches for another Frank.

The following extract from a letter written by Kyriacos from Hushak, Sept. 27, 1827, will show, that even before the news of the battle of Navarin had reached Hushak, it was a matter of some risk to ask too many questions about antiquities. I would willingly have given the original Greek, which is admirably written ; perhaps it may have a place in the Appendix, but at present a translation must suffice.

“ How is it possible to get information respecting ancient remains from barbarians without an atom of curiosity, and who, whenever such questions are asked, never fail to suspect that the inquirer has ever in view the discovery of hidden treasures, which treasures they firmly believe to be under the safe keeping of spirits and demons, insomuch that they think the very treasure itself (the pieces of money) have the virtue to drive away spirits, and that therefore we inquire the names and situation of roads, of ruins, and towns, that we may be the better informed where to dig for treasures. This belief is firmly fixed in the minds of both Greeks and Turks : and in addition to this, they think that the search for old remains is only a pretence to get better infor-

mation to betray the places to the enemy of the Turks. Now, since this is the case, you will be satisfied at present with the imperfect information I am able to give you."

The common tradition of the people in the town is, that the ancient city, whatever was its name, lay on the *north* side of Hushak, half an hour from the town, at a place called *Chok kos-lar*, and that in the vineyards there, quantities of columns, sculptured marbles, and foundations, are every day dug up.

On the side of a large sarcophagus, (or tomb? *ταφον*) fixed in a wall of a house, is this inscription :

Νεωτερος κατεσκευασα μνημειον Ζων  
εμαντω τ' αυτης και τοις γεννησομενοις  
γνησιοις τεκνοις.

On another stone in the same wall is evidently another portion of the same inscription :

και ος αν τουτω τω μνημειω και τη σορω  
κακην χειρι προσαγη ορφανα τεκνα λοιποιτο  
χηρον βιον, οικον, &c.

Aware that inscriptions have little interest for the general reader, I am persuaded this will be

an exception, from the illustration it offers to the 8th and following verses of the 109th Psalm ; literally, the inscription may be translated :

“ And whosoever shall lay an evil hand upon this tomb, may he leave his children orphans, his widow destitute, his house, (probably *desolate*,) &c.

The inscription is imperfect, or other denunciations would have followed ; but there is enough to remind the reader of the psalm :

“ Let his children be fatherless, and his wife a widow ; let his children be vagabonds, and beg their bread ; let them seek it also out of desolate places,” &c.

In a manuscript of the Vulgate Bible, which I saw at Paris in 1828, written early in the 11th century, the transcriber in the first leaf has a string of denunciations infinitely more dreadful than the above, against the person who shall dare in after times to remove the book from the monastery, for whose use it was written. The sacrilegious hands of the revolutionists tore it away from its sanctuary in defiance of the threatenings. When I saw it, it was in the shop of a gold-beater who had bought it by the pound—it



was in two thick folio volumes finely illuminated, and he offered it to me at a very moderate price, but while I hesitated an American gentleman transferred the manuscript and denunciations across the Atlantic.

The more usual penalty for violating a sepulchre, or appropriating it to the interment of others than the family of the person who constructed it, was a *pecuniary* one, payable usually into the treasury either of a temple or of the civil community; this may be seen in the following inscription also at Ushak :

Αὐρ Μαρκελλος εαυτω Ζων και Αμμιανη  
Τη γυναικι μου και τη θυγατρι Αμμιανη και  
Ζηνοδοτω τω γαμβρω μου συν και τοις τεκνοις  
αυτου κατεσκευασα το μνημειον : ειδε τις παρα ταυτα  
ποιησει και ετερον επισοιει νεκρον θησει εις το Ιερωτατον  
ταμειον. X. Φ.

I, Aurelius Marcellus, have erected this tomb during my lifetime, for myself, and my wife Ammiane, and my daughter Ammiane, and my son-in-law Zenodotus and for his children; if any person shall act contrary to this, and place any other corpse within it, he shall pay to the most sacred treasury 500 denaria.”

Within a wreath or crown on the other side of the same stone, a squared pillar, are the words :

*Αθανατω*

*Ιουλιανη,*

“ JULIANA TO THE IMMORTAL ;”

or, if we may alter the reading to *αθανατη*,

“ TO THE IMMORTAL JULIANA.”

If the latter, it may be supposed to have been a Christian inscription, and being within the wreath, beautifully directs the thoughts of the reader to the immortal heir of a crown of life! and the frequency of such wreaths or crowns, usually of olive-leaves, naturally led to the reward promised to the faithful Christian in the church of Smyrna: “ Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life.”

Another inscription records a philosopher, and who ought to have been a Christian philosopher to deserve the epithet of “ every man’s friend :”

*Μαρκου πολιτην φιλοσοφου παντων φιλου.*

Notwithstanding all these inscriptions, it is still uncertain what was the ancient town which

stood at or near Ushak. When I was there the first time, I saw among other medals of Co-tyæum, Eumenia, &c. one which was nearly illegible, but with the termination ΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ. Some time after, a very fine copper medal of large size was sent to me from Ushak, and which had been dug up there, with the legend ΦΛΑΒΙΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ, (Flaviopolis,) with the *Omonoia* on the reverse of *Temenothyraë*. Another, precisely similar, was subsequently purchased by my friend Mr. Borrell, also found at, and sent from Ushak.

Connecting this with the assurance of Kyriacos, that he had seen the word *Flaviopolis* repeated in the sepulchral inscriptions which cover the front of the old building near the khan and on the wall of a mosque, there is scarcely any doubt that whatever might have been the earlier name of the town, it was latterly called Flaviopolis; and perhaps in honour of the Emperor Vespasian, like the town of Cratia in Bithynia, or if of later date, in honour of the Constantine family. It has also been an episcopal see, as we learn from a marble bearing the name of "Demetrius the Bishop."

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ  
ΕΠΙΣΚΟΠΟΥ

With the usual monogram of the name of our Lord, as the Alpha and Omega, in a circle.

And on another stone, mention is made of Leon, the proto-presbyter, having contributed to the embellishment of some work, probably connected with the church.

*Εκαληουργηθη  
το εργον τουτο  
δια συνδρομης  
Λεοντος προτο περουτερου.*

Previously to the discovery of the ruins of Suleiman, I was much inclined to think Ushak was the modern representative of the ancient town of Acmonia; but if the ruins of Suleiman are those of Clanudda, as there is great reason to believe, then Ushak stands on the site of Aludda, placed by the Tabular Itinerary at thirty miles from Clanudda, and which is just the distance from Ushak to Suleiman; and the total omission of Aludda in the Notitiæ is another presumptive proof in favour of Flaviopolis, the

name being probably changed when Christianity triumphed over Paganism.

It will be useful before we leave Ushak, to give an extract from my first journey of the country between that town and the Dopos Kale-si, (*Tabala*,) in order to show the course of the river Hermus, and the tributary streams that fall into it.

*September 15, 1826.*—We quitted Hushak, or Ushak, at a quarter before eleven, and after an hour were in a valley, with a small river flowing by the road side, our course south-south-west. This stream was called Ulejak-sou-chay, and some fine trees grow on its banks. We soon crossed, by a bridge, a small stream running down from the mountain on the right into this river; and at a quarter before one passed by a bridge over another very small stream, running also down into the same, which was still by the road side.

A Turk told us that the latter stream was called Karaboul-bounar; that its source is close by in the mountain on the right, and that of the Ulejak-sou-chay about half an hour from Ushak; the united stream takes the former name of Karaboul-bounar.

Our course had been for some time north-west. A few minutes before two, the river still flowed by our side, (on the left,) but so much smaller, that a principal part seems to have passed behind the mountains, where there was an opening.

At a quarter after two, having crossed this small river, rode along on its right bank, and crossing it again, it lay as before on the left. We arrived at the village of Korray, (Curay or Kura,) at a quarter before three o'clock, and rested three quarters of an hour under the trees by the river side.

Korray must have had once much more importance than at present; three handsome mosques in ruins were evidences that it had not long ago a considerable Turkish population; and quantities of marble fragments in the burial ground, and an inscription by the road-side, which I had no time to examine sufficiently, indicated its existence in remoter times. My horse stumbled over a marble fragment with a large cross.\*

\* The ruins at Korray or Kura, may be those of Trajanopolis, which is among the dioceses of the Notitiæ, and lay near the River Helms, it was a town of the Temenothyra, which

Fording the river, we were again on its right bank, and at four o'clock the view was occasionally shut out by many low elevations clothed with young pines. At half-past four, having descended into a small plain, we saw on our right, exactly in the same course with the former stream, a large wide river. It was the Cadis-chay, or Codus-chay, which rises ten hours off, near Cadis, or Kodus; and our smaller river had fallen into it about a quarter of an hour before, though the little hills on the right prevented us from observing the junction.\*

The scenery at five o'clock was of the most

I should be disposed to place at Yenisher, from its position commanding the entrance of the mountain range between that place and Koola. I have already observed, that I saw a medal of Trajanopolis at Sirghè, and that Temenothyraë is on the reverse of some medals both of Bagæ and Flaviopolis. Temenothyraë is also in the list of the Notitiæ, and placed in Phrygia, but Pausanius says it was a city of Lydia, of no great magnitude, and that a sepulchre being rent asunder by a tempest, exposed to view some human bones of great magnitude.

\* In a note of Colonel Leake on this crossing and recrossing of the river he supposed I had occasionally mistaken the right-hand for the left, but I have the gratification of being now permitted to say, that he admits the correctness of my statement.

picturesque description. We had approached close to the brink of the river, here of great width, when a lofty rock rising perpendicularly from the water, obliged us to turn away behind it; in five minutes we were again close by the river, our course west. Arrived at the village of Yenisher at a quarter past six; and took possession of an open shed near a solitary minaret, a striking object amidst the surrounding most picturesque scenery. The open space for a considerable distance round our shed was filled by the innumerable camels of different caravans.

*Sept. 16.*—The commencement of our journey this morning was inauspicious; we left Yenisher before two o'clock; the caravans had already passed on, before I could get our party in motion: the sounds of the camel bells, as they ascended and descended the mountain, had a most romantic effect at this early hour, but as they became more faint, and at last scarcely audible at distant intervals, Milcom recollected that they were to have been our conductors on the road; it was not therefore at all wonderful that, as usual, we lost our way. Happily we soon regained it,



and till a quarter before five o'clock we were constantly on foot, ascending and descending almost interminable windings of mountains well clothed with trees.

We now crossed the Cadis-chay, by a bridge, and rode on the left bank. At five the road continued to be hilly and bad, but not so mountainous or so perilous as before; the country an open one, of most extraordinary appearance, certainly part of the Catacecaumene; the colour of different shades, from ash colour to light brown, and a very few stunted shrubs sprinkled upon it.

Our course was west, when at half past five, we came up with the caravans, which having preceded us three quarters of an hour, proved that our pace was about one mile in four faster than the camels.

At half-past six crossed the wide bed of a river, now quite dry, coming down from between the mountains on the right, our course still west. At seven o'clock, as we descended the mountain side steeply, the Cadis-chay lay again immediately beneath the road, winding at a considerable depth below, and in nearly the same direction.

I was forcibly struck by the resemblance between this river and its rocky and wild scenery, and that of the Tamar, in the parish of Calstock; but if the mountains here had the superiority from their height, the river was decidedly inferior; about the same breadth as the Tamar, but muddy. Perhaps the Wye, near Chepstow, is more like it. As I looked down on the famed Hermus of the ancient world, I felt a pride in contrasting its muddy bed, with the crystalline stream, and the white foam dashing over the numerous rocks, forming a thousand cascades, of my own native river.

At half-past seven the descent of a very steep hill brought us to the river. A mountain—rather an enormous rock—rose perpendicularly to a great height from the water's edge, having on its summit remains of a castle, called Dopus, (τοπος) Kalesi, (Tabala.) Some of the people forming the caravan told strange stories of this castle, and described some holes or caverns, which are said to extend a great way. Just beneath this castle are the remains of a bridge.

The caravan was composed of Greeks, Armenians, and Turks. The character of each was so

distinctly marked, and the costume so varied, every one seeming to have his story to tell, that I was reminded of Chaucer's pilgrims; perhaps even the dresses were not far removed from those of England in the fourteenth century.

My principal object in reprinting this extract from my former journey, is to show the error of the maps in making two rivers, called the Coplisou and Banas-chay, tributary streams to the Hermus, whereas it is clear, and will be hereafter proved, that they should be carried into the Meander.

## CHAPTER VII.

Leave Cooselare—Arrive at Kalinkese; another disappointment—Village of Koucash —Peltene, or Eucarpian plain—Cross the river Banas—Mistake of the Maps as to its course corrected—Village of Haseelare—Village of Sasac, remains and inscriptions—Arrive at Segiclar—Oda Society—Reasons for believing Segiclar on the site of Eucarpia—Leave Segiclar—Village of Burgas or Vulgas—Weather-proof cloak—Arrive at Ishekli—Its altered appearance after the fire.

*Tuesday. Oct. 30.*—We rose with the grand ruins of Kalinkesè in our head, and quitting our kind friends at half-past eight, first descended by a craggy road among pines, into an undulating valley, and crossing a bridge over a stream, ascended the opposite hill.

Here we were delayed a little by an occurrence common to all travellers in Asia Minor, if not in other countries; the mountain of bag-

gage had shifted itself from the back of the horse, and chosen another position under its belly. When all was arranged again, we passed over an open country till twenty-five minutes after nine, when we arrived at the village of Tootlujah.

From hence the road lay over a most extensive and magnificent plain, with nothing for the eye to repose on till ten o'clock, when a well lay in our route. The absence of external objects to occupy the mind, fixed our thoughts more intensely on what we should find at Kalinkesè, or rather at a mill near that place ; and when, in a quarter of an hour afterwards, we arrived at the village, we rode among the few houses to get directions, or a guide to conduct us to the mill and the ruins.

Our enthusiasm was a little chilled at being told the mill was much farther off than our friends of Cooselare had informed us ; but to be assured, as we soon were, by several persons, that nothing was to be seen at the mill but a single small building, composed of black stones, which were not even dignified with the appellation of Eski, (*ancient*), was a sad blow to all our towering hopes.

Calculating that if we went to the mill so much time would be lost that we could not reach Segiclar to-night, nor consequently Ishekli to-morrow, and with the woeful disappointment of yesterday full in view, we determined, as the more prudent course, to abandon the fairy ruins, expecting they would prove another Besh-sheer, and to make the best of our way to Segiclar.

Certainly, our Cooselare friends did not stand so high in our estimation as they did before. About a mile from the village of Kalinkesè, we examined an extensive cemetery, but it contained few vestiges of antiquity, though there are a few stones in the village, and a marble on a fountain has a monogram, difficult to describe without being drawn, but which seems formed by the insertion of M within Π with A below, and the diphthong s above, and the sides of the Π continued with O on one side, and P E on the other.

We learnt subsequently at Segiclar, that there really are some remains at the mill, and that it is a place resorted to annually by the Turks from considerable distances, for the observance of some religious anniversary. In the account also, given to Kyriacos at Ushak, of places where

ruins exist, Kalinkesè is mentioned, and the distance from Ushak, viz. —

*4 ωρας εις Καλινκεσι προς Μεσεμβριαν*

Four hours, Kalinkesè, towards the south.

We quitted Kalinkesè at eleven o'clock, rather in ill humour, which the magnificent plain and capital road could not altogether remove. In half an hour there were evidences of former habitation in several wells on the left of the road ; and soon after, we passed the village of Tiyen. The plain, rich and cultivated, till we came to another village, Koukache, at a quarter before one. If this be not the Peltene or Eucarpian plain, it deserved to be so. About Koucashe were some vineyards, a sight which we had not seen for some time.

The air seemed so pure and invigorating in this fertile plain, that we might have supposed it almost impossible to die, if, at one o'clock, that memorial of mortality, a cemetery, had not corrected the error, and proved the sovereignty of death even on the plains of Eucarpia—for Eucarpia I will call them, till I find a better name.

We are now riding among some small Valonea

oaks, and a magnificent view bursts on us on the right ; the country intervening, if I mistake not, between this and the plain of Eumenia or Ishekli, with the course of the Meander, and the distant mountains bounding the plains of both Eumenia and Apamea.

We now descended, at a quarter past one, to two wells, for it is useful to mention at what distance such blessings to the thirsty and weary traveller may be found, especially in journeying over scorching and immense plains, where many a poor man, ready to droop from exhaustion, is revived, on being assured that a little more patience, and the refreshing draught will be within his reach. Though the weather was rather chilly than scorching, we alighted and enjoyed it, and, refreshed, re-ascended the opposite hill.

The country is now more than undulating, for at a quarter before two we descended again, and crossed the Banas river, near a wooden bridge. To find water in it, and not a little at this season of drought, is a proof that it must be an important river, and as the course is downwards on our right, or to the south, it is quite



evident that it is a tributary stream to the Meander; as in fact we were afterwards told at Segiclar. There is, therefore, a very great error in all the maps, which make the Banas a tributary river to the Hermus, and give it a northward or upward, instead of a southern and downward, course.

Tavernier, in going from Allahsher, (Philadelphia,) to Affium-kara-hissar, halted the fourth night from Philadelphia in a valley near a river called the Banas-sou, and of which he says, the water was not good to drink. The preceding day he had conacked near a bridge over another river called the Copli-sou, in the plains of Inahy, (Einè,)—the distance between the two rivers he makes eight hours. Now, if this be not the stream we crossed soon after leaving Cooselare, it must be that which flows under the acropolis at Suleiman, for we saw no other, and these both run downwards towards the Meander. We were told at Segiclar, that the Banas does not rise at Bonarbashi, but some hours more to the north-eastward, and that there are ruins near its source. The river therefore which rises at Bo-

narbashi, must be a smaller stream, tributary to the Banas, and falling into it not far from Segiclar; probably the Sebasli.

We are now in a more inclosed and better wooded country, and arrived at two o'clock at the village of Haseelare. At twenty-five minutes after two we came to another village, called Sasac, in which are many sculptured fragments of white marble, vestiges of a town at no great distance. We saw and copied several inscriptions, especially on two fountains, where are stones sculptured and inscribed which had once been entrances to tombs.

*Inscription on the Fountain.*

Ετους . . . . ΣΝΗΜαδ. . . .

Μακουλεια Απολλον

Το γλυ . . . . . τω ανεδρι . . . .

Anno CCLVIII\* Madi—Maculina

Apollonio dulcissimo Marito.

If the remains at Sasac are distinct from those which we subsequently saw at Segiclar, and as the smaller stream which is near it is called Se-

\* A. D. 289. in the sixth year of Dioclesian.

basli, can this have been the site of Sebaste? a town in Phrygia, and mentioned in the Notitiæ. A burial-ground near the village was full of ancient fragments, and we found an inscription on a part of a column which, could we have remained long enough to have cleared the earth from another part of it which lay near, would, beyond doubt, have given us the name of the city.

..... EATI.....

ΔΙΣ

TON

ΦΥΜΩΝΚ

ΜΔΦΥΣΚ

.....

.....

ΤΩΝ ΙΔΙΩΝ

But it was growing late, and the sky overcast, threatening rain, and we hastened on to the large village of Segiclar, where we arrived about four o'clock.

It was some time before our commissary of the Palank had our effects installed in an Oda, not because there was none, but because there

were two, if not more, and the proprietors of each claimed the honour of receiving us. While the preparatory measures to taking possession were going on, namely, removing old mats and *maxilarias*, (cushions,) and the *frocalia*, (the short flat broom,) was in diligent exercise, we took a survey of the town with all the villagers in train, who marched us about from house to mosque, and from mosque to house, to see every old stone in the place.

In the walls of the mosque were several inscriptions, and a long one, laid flat, nearly before the door of the mosque, but neither these, nor several sepulchral ones which we saw in the houses, gave us any assistance in determining the town which evidently had once occupied this site.

Returning to our Oda, in a shower of misty rain, we began to feel uneasy, not so much from the probability of being deluged in our beds, as of having our further journeying impeded, if not totally prevented, by the breaking up of the season.

However, we were not allowed to mood over future possibilities, for the apartment was so

thronged with visitors, and, to say the truth, not of the most agreeable or prepossessing physiognomy, that we had some difficulty, with all the assistance of our elbows, to get a corner to eat our dinner—the dinner as usual of charity, excellent pilau, and eggs, capitally dressed, as good according to our appetites as if from the Café de Very.

The *conversazione* of the society at Segiclar was not so refined or intellectual as that at Cooselare ; their habiliments were so much in accordance with their physiognomy, that is to say, a mass of rags, and they outnumbered our party so much, at least forty being crowded into the room of twelve feet square, that my friend Dethier and I more than once exchanged looks of *inquiry*—for travellers so brave, I must not say, apprehension. Our visitors remained till a late hour, and my bedding having supplied half-a-dozen with a sofa, I may boldly say, I had apprehension that they had left me a souvenir.

Be it as it may, we passed but an indifferent night ; and the beating of the heavy rain on the flat earth roof, did not compose us to sleep, though fortunately it did not descend upon us.

*Wednesday, Oct. 31.*—The morning was dark

as night, with heavy clouds, menacing deluges of rain ; had it been as brilliant as a day in July, it would have been all one to us, for we found ourselves in total darkness, our apartment having no crevice to admit the light, except by the door, and which opened into the stable, as our anti-room. Our toilet was therefore arranged in the open air, in defiance of the rain.

We were nearly on the point of determining to go to Ushak and return to Smyrna, abandoning the route we had proposed, but as there was a good khan at Ishekli where we could be as well accommodated as at Ushak, in case of detention by weather, we determined to proceed.

We set out at a quarter past nine, having first compensated our kind host of the Oda, who, with his brother, inherits this charge from his father, and is obliged to entertain, like the monasteries in England before the Reformation, all the travellers, whatever their degree or faith.

We stopped at a burial ground close to the village, and found innumerable fragments, some of beautiful sculpture, and several inscriptions, but unfortunately all sepulchral. Had not the

rain began to fall, we might have discovered others. A peculiarity that these inscriptions have an *epoch*, the word ΕΤΟΥΣ occurring both on these and those we found at Sasac and Segiclar, may assist in determining if it stands on the site of Eucarpia.

Two *tumuli* close to the village, the remains of a *circular* inclosure, which we were shown last evening, called the Kalesi, and the quantity of immense stones of white marble, square and sculptured, decide, beyond doubt, that Segiclar is on the site of an ancient city. We would not presume to decide that this city was Eucarpia, but there is much to favour the conjecture.

The Roman road, according to the Tables, from Dorylæum to Apamea Cibotus, passed through Nacoleia, Conni, Eucarpia, and Eumenia. Now, Eumenia being at Ishekli, and Segiclar nearly in a line with that place and Deenare, (Apamea,) Eucarpia could not be very far from the site of Segiclar.

It is true, that the Ecclesiastical Notitiæ mention a town called *Banas*, of the same name with the river; but it is not mentioned by

Strabo, or any ancient geographers, and was probably built after the establishment of Christianity. It may have been at *Hasclari* or *Sasac*,\* but the

\* Kyriacos procured the following information for me when at Ushak, respecting the rivers near Segiclar and Ishekli.

The rivers which have their sources at or near Bonarbashi are the Banas, the Vulgas, and near Bonarbashi, another stream called the Sebasli. That which rises at Ishekli is called by the people of the country *Ακκιος*, and passes through the plains by Kaibazar to Ephesus, &c. The river which flows *behind* Ishekli towards the north is called Tchokraanchay, and passes through *Κοτερη γερζιου* (Kodus?) Its sources are said to be at a place called Dikigi. The river which flows through Sandukli, is either the Kiouphou, or, flowing into it, takes the name either of the river of Sandukli, as the plain is called the plain of Sandukli, or of the Kiouphou. It has its many sources more or less remote, in the same plain of Sandukli. The river called the Kiouphou has its sources at Dinar, and flows by Ishekli.

Though the Turks are not profound geographers, and though there are several errors in this account, still there is some curious information. We have seen that the Banas, from the more correct knowledge of those who live close to it, does not rise at Bonarbashi, but some hours off. So the river which rises at Ishekli, and which flows into the Meander, is mistaken for the Meander itself, which passes by Kaibazar and on to the sea, not at Ephesus, but below it at Miletus. The river behind Ishekli, and said to pass through Kodus, (if this be not a mistake for Kutaieb,) is probably the Thymbres. The Sandukli river is probably the Obrimas, and the Kiouphou is the Meander.



vestiges at Segiclar, the inscriptions, &c., certainly have reference to a city of much earlier date, though we frequently saw the *cross* both in the cemeteries and village.

The rain falling, compelled us to leave the burial-ground, though it did not prevent our stopping soon after to copy an inscription near it—

Η πολις Μαρκον Αυρηλιον (Σεουηρον)  
 Αντωνεινον \* Σεβαστον (στρα) τηγουντων των  
 —— Ευξενον Απολ , . . οχοντων.

Eucarpia † is mentioned in the Notitiæ, and among its bishops the following names are preserved :

Eugenius,

Anaxamanus,

Cyriacus,

Dionysius,

Constantinus, he lived as late as the time of Pope John.

\* Caracalla.

† The name of Eucarpia was derived from the fertility of the soil, which, by attaching the people to agriculture, may have contrasted them with those of the neighbouring Euphor-

The road lay through a wood of valonea, in which, on the right, was a village. At eleven o'clock we crossed the bed of a river quite dry, like most others of a secondary class, in this extraordinary season. We would gladly keep ourselves as dry as the river-bed, for the rain now began to penetrate; and when we arrived at the village (or small town) of Burgas, (or Vulgas) at a

bium, celebrated probably for its flocks and pastures.—*Colonel Leake's Journal*, p. 166.

It was also celebrated for grapes of an extraordinary size; and some years ago, thinking this might assist in the discovery of the site of Eucarpia, I requested a friend to procure for me the names of places most remarkable in the present day for grapes and other fruits. He very obligingly sent me the following description:

πρῶτον μὲν περιφημον διὰ τὰς σταφύλας  
 του Χωρίου εἶναι εἰς κάμπον του  
 Ισικλη ὀνόματι τζιβρίλ, 9 ὥρας ἄπο  
 'Ουσάκ' διὰ ᾧ Καρὺνδία εἶναι τὸ Σιμάβι,  
 καὶ εἰς τὴν πεδιάδα του Βανας, τὸ Γκῶρβεν  
 καὶ 1 ὥραν πρὸς ἑνσμάς του Οὐσακίου, τὸ  
 Καραγάτζ.

“ The place most celebrated for grapes is in the plain of Ishekli, called Djibril, nine hours from Ushak. For walnuts, the finest are found at Simav, and in the plain of the Banas, at a place called Gooven, and at Karagatch, one hour from Ushak at the west.”

quarter before twelve, I felt more than half inclined to pitch our tents there till the lowering clouds had discharged all their provision. The baggage-horse seemed of the same mind, for, taking French leave as we entered the village, he reconnoitred the entirety of the place half a dozen times before Milcom could prevail on him to proceed.

At some little distance from Burgas, a number of magnificent walnut-trees lay down a little way on the left, and had it been the moment, as it was not, to enjoy the picturesque, we should have been highly amused by a procession of Turks, male and female, whose many-coloured habiliments were displayed to much advantage as they moved along with all the gravity of good Mussulmen among the branching walnuts, in defiance of the rain. It was probably a circumcision; a ceremony always honoured with all the holiday dresses of the village.

The rain was falling too much in earnest to enjoy any sight but a dry room and a good fire, and I accepted thankfully Milcom's offer of an oil-skin, a complete envelope for the whole body, and proof, as he assured me, against all the rain that

had ever fallen since the flood, and was to fall to the end of time.

Two Turks, whom we now met, gave us the gratuitous information that we were only one hour and a half from our conac at Ishekli; this would have been grateful news, if I had not known to a certainty we had at least double the distance; but our informants, no doubt, bestowed it on us, as a charitable act to keep up our spirits.

The rain fell heavily, and from falling heavily soon became waterspouts and deluges; the oil-case, that had been proof since the creation, was soaked through, and unkindly allowed the water to insinuate itself down my neck, breast, and boots. I restored it to its owner, who still insisted on its waterproof qualities, and recommending him to put it on, substituted a cloak of my own, which so far had kept *him* dry. Alas! this soon underwent the same fate, and even a most beautiful rainbow, which completely encircled the whole of the lofty acropolis of Ishekli, did not brighten our hopes, or raise our spirits, till we arrived at the town at three o'clock.

Ishekli presented a different appearance than

at my first visit, and there was a strong smell of smoke on approaching the town ; the blackened and roofless walls soon explained the mystery : there had been a most destructive fire a few days before, which, with a considerable part of the town, had destroyed the bazaar and all the goods.

This was the bazaar day, but there were vastly more buyers than articles of sale ; I was among the disappointed, having long envied the Gambado boots of my wiser friends, Dethier and Kyriacos, and intended to purchase a pair at Ishekli, where usually every thing was to be had, even not on a bazaar day. Alas ! no money could purchase boots to-day, or even a handful of rice to make a pilau.

The town was, notwithstanding, as full as if all the ergasteria and Besesteins of Constantinople and Smyrna had been transported to Ishekli—a proof that all were not buyers and sellers who came to the bazaar, as all are not purchasers who traverse the Soho bazaar or Burlington Arcade.

However, this increase of population had nearly kept us without a lodging, all the apartments in

the khan being engaged, till the eloquence of Milcom, and a kind recognition of the khangi that I had been his former guest, procured us a capital room ; and we soon forgot, in the luxuries of a blazing fire, and the unusual luxuries of oil and candles, which we had not enjoyed for a night or two, the soaking we had received.

The following extract from my former journey from Ishekli to Ushak will supply the deficiency of observations which the weather prevented us from making at present.

“ We quitted Ishekli at a quarter before ten, our course at first nearly west, a little inclined to north, across the plain ; at half past ten crossed a river of some size running down from the right, or north, into the plain. At eleven o'clock, having left the plain, we ascended the mountain. I sat on some rocks at the summit for half an hour, attempting to make a sketch of the magnificent plains of Eumenia and Apamea, now in their full extent beneath us. They are nearly at right angles with each other : that of Ishekli (Eumenia) almost east and west, the variation being to the north. At twelve o'clock our course a little to the west of north, in an open, stony country.

“ A very extensive view lay before us at twenty minutes past twelve ; on the left were continued ranges of mountains extending one beyond the other, north and south, and low from their distance ; other distant ranges lay in front, running east and west, and on the right another, but much nearer range, parallel with the road.

“ We were on a considerable elevation above the plain of Ishekli, and at one o'clock descended a little, and almost imperceptibly, to a mill. The view changed from a barren and stony country to one rich and well-wooded. A village called Crokos lay on the right, hid by trees, of which were various kinds, particularly walnuts. Another quarter of an hour brought us to a burial-ground containing antique fragments, and shortly after we passed through the village of Bourgas.

“ At a quarter before two, entered a wood of valonea oaks, the trees of small size. Observing that at two o'clock our course was east of north, I suspected some error in our guide, and soon discovered that Milcom, as usual, was leading us a dance through the wood towards the mountain. We fortunately regained the right road

with little loss of time, of which the direction, as before, was north-north west, or a little westward of north. Crossed a dry, but wide river-course flowing down from the right, and at three o'clock arrived at the village of Bonarbashi.

“ While dinner was preparing, I walked round the village; many marble fragments lay in different directions, and among others, which were built into the walls of a mosque, I saw the affecting sight of a very large and handsomely sculptured cross! The place has its name from being near the sources of the river Banas-chay, (as I then supposed,) which rises in an easterly or north-north-east direction; the stream runs westward to a most delicious spot at the end of the village, overshadowed with immense trees. Most reluctantly did I quit my seat here for the dinner apartment, fully exposed to the merciless rays of an afternoon sun in an intensely hot day, and filled within by the heat and smoke of a blazing fire, and twenty inquisitive visitors.

“ We quitted Bonarbashi at six o'clock, our course, as before, north-north-west. At half past six crossed the river of Bonarbashi at a



mill; and in less than another half hour, passed through the village of Segiclê or Segiclar.

“Of this village we had the following information at Bonarbashi. It is also called Eski-bonar, and has a castle and extensive ruins, and the river runs by it. It was too late and too dark to distinguish the ruins at Segiclar, but I could see by the road-side a quantity of large squared stones. Eight o'clock brought us to the bottom of a long steep hill; and in another quarter of an hour, a large river, the Banaschay, lay on the left, parallel with the road; we crossed it soon after.

“From this time till half past ten, when we passed through the village of Yapal, the country was open, and, as far as I could judge by the light, barren, and destitute of interest. At eleven o'clock the same open country, and not a leaf to be seen. It was three hours after, that is, at one o'clock, when we arrived at Ushak.”\*

Pococke was not at Ushak, but he was told at Affium kara-hissar, that Ushak was three days' journey from hence, and Goula (Koola) two days' journey farther.

\* Visit to the Seven Churches, p. 248.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Acropolis of Ishekli—Ishekli mistaken by Pococke for Apamea—Inscription deciding it to be Eumenia—Supposed ancient site—Mistletoe on the willow—Prevailing disease at Ishekli—The blind bard of Ushak—Paramythia of the young prince of Stamboul—Another of the Doukanji and the Dervish.

*Thursday, November 1.*—Though the morning appeared fine, the clouds over the acropolis and adjoining mountains seemed too suspicious to allow us to proceed on our journey. Having breakfasted, we ascended the hill of the acropolis by a *goat's* road, craggy and precipitous, for there was no other, and it was an arduous enterprise.

We saw on our way two large trees resembling the balm of Gilead, though of much larger growth, much esteemed by the Turks as a medicine in disorders of the chest. The hill was covered with plants of euphorbium, and if the situation had agreed, and no authorities against it, we might well have called Ishekli by the name of that city. Mr. Dethier found also a beautiful species of *carduus*.

We toiled on patiently till we were near the summit, in the hope of finding the remains of the ancient fortress mentioned by Pococke, but not seeing a vestige of any thing of the kind, and pitying much the hard lot of the citizens, who, by his account, kept their quarantine of sixty days on the top of this peaked rock when besieged by Alexander, we carefully retraced our steps, and at the base of the mountain saw the numerous sources of the river Ak-kius, and a multitude of women *takmaking* their linen in the beautifully transparent streams.

As Pococke mistook Ishekli for the site of Apamea, to which the above story of the inhabitants taking refuge in the citadel only applies, perhaps his account of the remains does not rest upon better evidence. It is, however, possible, that the whole range of mountains extending from Apamea, that is, Deenare to Ishekli, may have been anciently called Signia. The appearance of the rocks at the base of the acropolis, cut in many places, with many foundations in the water itself, prove the existence of ancient buildings, perhaps baths or a gymnasium on the spot.

That Ishekli occupies the site of the ancient

town of Eumenia might have been considered fully established by the discovery of Apamea at Deenare, supported by the inscriptions found by Pococke and myself in my former visit. Anxious for further proof, while Mr. Dethier made a sketch of the town, I went, accompanied by Kyriacos, in search of inscribed stones. We found two in a small burial-ground, one of which, with the words *Βουλος Ευμενιων*, puts to rest for the future all further doubts.

. . . . . ουδενι  
 αλλω ἑξὸν ἔσται  
 θειναι τινα ειδε τις  
 επιχειρησει εισοίσει  
 εις την Ευμένίων βου  
 λην προστιμον (χιλλια δηναρια)  
 Καὶ εσται αὐτῷ πρὸς το  
 μεγα ονομα τοῦ θεοῦ

“To no other be it permitted to place any corpse here. But if any one shall undertake to do so, he shall pay to the council of the Eumenienses, a fine of (one thousand denaria?) and let him be answerable to the great name of the God.”

The other inscription, also a sepulchral one, did not merit the labour bestowed on it by Kyriacos, who, in the true spirit of a most zealous antiquary, a very *Oldbuck*, chipped off with knife and hammer the incrustation, hard as the marble itself, which had covered the letters.

Ὀνομα Ζωτικός εἰμι

πατρὶς Κοσμος, πατρις ἡδη.

“ My name is Zoticus, my father Cosmos,  
This is my native place.”

Subsequently we visited, with a Turkish cicerone, the spot, called the Kalesi, where the ancient town is said to have stood; there was nothing to be seen, but the little low hill I had visited in my former journey. But on our way we saw a sight, to me, at least, a novel one, the misseltoe growing on the *willow*. I had before seen it on several trees besides the apple and the pear, but never till now on the willow.

Here were vineyards bearing grapes of such magnificent size, and exquisite flavor, that Eucarpia would be a more fitting name than Eumenia.

Retiring to the khan, I practised *en Hakim* with patients of various descriptions and sexes.

The prevailing disease of Ishekli, we were told, was enlargement of the legs, almost elephontiasis.

Our dinner, capital fish from the *Akkius*, cooked *à merveille* by Mr. Dethier, being got rid of, we paid a visit to some Greeks from Isbarta in an adjoining apartment, and were treated with an improvisatore in an old blind Turk, absolutely another Homer, said Kyriacos, from the eloquence of his language, and brilliancy of imagination.

The thousand and one Arabian nights are not yet ended, and story telling, called *paramythia* by the Greeks, holds its sway, with all its witchery, over all the people, male and female, old and young, Greeks and Turks.

In the present case, the performance was in part recitative, and in part song, or intended so to be, though the old bard had but a bad substitute for a harp or guitar, in his pipe stick. He was listened to with great attention, and we found he was a man *tres recherché*, having his domicile at Ushak, whence he travels all over the country, entertained by the Agas and principal Turks, like an ancient British minstrel.

The first story was rather a common place one,

of a young prince at Stamboul, (Constantinople,) who had attached himself contrary to the will of his father. The fair one is sent to Kaisarea, twenty days' journey from the capital. The prince, ignorant of the place of her exile, leaves his home, and relies upon his harp as his only hope of discovering her. He passes from town to town, from village to city, playing in all the streets, a tune well known to the object of his search. At length arriving at Kaisarea, (Cæsarea,) the *denouement* takes place, and the tale ends as all such tales do.

The principal merit, if we could judge from the applause bestowed upon it, was the intimate acquaintance the narrator seemed to have with the geography of Asia Minor; repeating again and again, with the rapidity of lightning, the whole list of towns, and cities, and villages, between Stamboul and Kaisarea, and the intermediate and cross routes north and south, east and west. I wished much to have preserved the list, as a curious, if not useful, specimen of a Turk's knowledge of his country.

The second story was the following :—

On the second day of the Bairam, three Turk-

ish dames, the wives of the Doukanji, or dealer in all commodities, of the Tchiboukji, or maker of pipes, and of the Papoutji, the vender of yellow, red, and other slippers, agreed to walk and see all the magnificent spectacles usually presented on this high holiday, and perhaps take a ride or a swing in one of the untold varieties of wooden vehicles, which bring such a harvest of paras to the proprietors ; that is, supposing they could be allowed to pass for grown children, well huddled up in their feridjes.

They had not proceeded far, when their eyes lighted all at once on a glittering object, dazzling the sight in a May day's sun. It was a beautiful ring, a large emerald in the centre, with rubies around it. It was clear that some less happy fair one had dropped the precious ornament, and was probably mourning its loss ; on this point, however, the finders did not bestow much thought ; they had found it, and the only question to be decided was, as it could not be divided, whose it should be.

It was true the wife of the Tchiboukji had picked it up, for her arms were as long as her husband's pipe sticks, but she was not the more



intituled to be the owner, than her friend the Papoutji's lady, whose corpulence rendered her movements less active than the other. As usual in such cases, all claimed it, and each refused to yield their portion of right to the others.

In this dilemma, a wise thought struck the wife of the Doukanji, to refer the decision to the first person they met. On this day when all the world was abroad, there was no difficulty in finding people, and the first man they saw, and who of course was to be the arbiter, was Hadji Suleiman, the Termandji, the old one-eyed miller ; and it was no miracle that they should see him, for he was coming out of his mill door.

As he was not a Paris, neither were the fair competitors goddesses ; the miller therefore sagely decided that he would have nothing to do with the dangerous point of comparative personal charms, and referred the thing solely to a trial of intellect. To be sure, Suleiman's choice of a subject was not the most complimentary to the ladies' husbands, but whether he had any previous knowledge of his fair referees, or whether, to make mischief, or from what motive does not appear, but certainly his decision was, that

the ring should be adjudged to be lawful prize to her who should prove that she had outwitted her husband in the cleverest way.

The wife of the Tchiboukji took the lead, and was followed by the wife of the Papoutji, but neither of them said any thing that was worth repeating, and there was a great deal about pipes and leather. The wife of the Doukanji is called upon last.

Her husband, Hassan Aslan Oglou, better known in the bazaar by the name of Koutchuk Hassan, (little Hassan,) had opened his shop and shut it every day for twenty years past. His attention to business had given him respectability, and he was reputed to be somebody—possessor of a pipe with a real amber mouthpiece, and sending often to the Cafidjis to treat his customers, Hassan was reported to be in comfortable circumstances; and the report was a true one.

But Hassan was more comfortable in his shop than in his house, at least so thought his wife, and she tried to make him think so too. Why Hassan was happier in his shop than his house does not appear; but it is certain that his wife did not make his house very agreeable to him,

nor did she enjoy his society as a good wife ought to do.

Unhappily her affections were less strongly inclined towards Hassan, than to a holy Dervish, whose melodious cry of “Hok, hok, hok,” while seated day after day on the bench before her door, had completely driven Hassan out of her heart; the more surprising, as the two men were as exactly like each other in size, height, and feature, as two camel beads.

The holy man found no difficulty in persuading the wife that there was no harm in exchanging a Doukanji for a Dervish; and no sooner was she convinced, than the projected exchange was carried into effect.

Hassan, who little dreamt of what was hatching, came home from his shop in unusual gaiety; he had sold so much ottar of roses, so many ivory boxes of surmè, and so many strings of Mecca beads, that he was determined to indulge in the luxury of a milk chalva, and his wife was ordered to prepare it. Nothing could be more apropos than such an order, nor more seasonable than the hour when it was given—the milk chalva was speedily prepared, and as it was done

while Hassan was devoutly performing his Akhscham-namaz, or prayer after sun-set, a mis-cal or two of affiom was mixed up with the dainty dish.

Hassan's appetite being always graduated according to the amount of his shop receipts, he indulged so much *en gourmand* as fairly to eat the whole of the milk chalva. The potent effects of the affiom were instantly demonstrated, and the happy Doukanji was soon in a profound sleep, dreaming of customers and milk chalva.

About one hundred yards off, at the corner of four streets, was a Tekkié, or convent of Dervishes, and connected with it one of those charitable places, where, through an iron grating, a number of iron cups, chained to the grating are always filled and refilled for the thirsty passenger. It was the duty of our Dervish to superintend this cup filling.

It was to this place that poor Hassan was conveyed in the midst of his dreams, and being laid down softly on the stone floor, his transformation into a Dervish quickly took place, by being divested of his benish and turban, and enveloped in the long ample white felt robe of the Dervish, with his girdle, in which hung his horn,

belted round his waist, and the sugar-loaf white felt cap substituted for the turban. The transformation completed, the Dervish returned to the house, and so perfect was the resemblance, that the servants readily admitted him as their old master.

It was long after the hour of saying the Ikinndy-namazy ; that is to say, long after noon of the following day, before Hassan awoke from his long nap. He rubbed his eyes, and looking around him, rubbed his eyes again, persuaded that he was still dreaming. Convinced at length that he was broad awake, he could not imagine how he came into this place, and less so, how he was transformed into a Dervish : attributing it all to the agency of the gins, his thoughts revert to his shop, and seeing the sun already declining, he hurries thither, lamenting to have lost many a good customer by his strange nap. He finds the shop shut, and concluding he had left it so himself the preceding evening, instead of going home for the key, attempted to force the lock.

The neighbours, and especially Hassan's best

\* This is also called *Salath Asrr*, the prayer of the sunset, *Salath Magreb*.

friends, the Kabobji, the Sherbetji, the barber and the baker, fall at once on the supposed Dervish, and threaten him with the bastinado for his felonious intentions. "How, Dervish!" said Hassan, "I am no Dervish; am I not your old friend Hassan Aslan Oglou, or, as you are better pleased to call me, Koutchuk Hassan? How I came by this dress I know not, but by my beard and your own I tell the truth." "You are a father of lies," cried the whole party—do we not know that face well enough covered by that cap of sanctity, as a cloak for all sort of deceits—does not the horn set all the dogs howling every day before our doors, and the hok, hok, hok, of your musical voice disturb our rest every night? Get you gone instantly, or you will suffer what you have long merited."

Hassan, in conscious innocence, persisted in trying to open his shop door, when without further ceremony he was seized and bastinadoed so unmercifully, that his legs could scarcely bear him to the door of his own mansion. Smarting with pain, his impatience to get into his house made him knock so violently, that the whole of its inmates came to see what was the

matter. The door was opened by the Dervish himself, whom Hassan was astonished to see in his own clothes, and which at once told all the story. He began by abusing him, but the servants were so fully convinced that the Dervish was their master and Hassan the impostor, that they readily obeyed the orders of their mistress to give him another bastinado.

The poor man had then his own door shut upon him, and seated on the ground, began to ruminate on his strange fortune, and on the course to be adopted. In vain he determined to apply to the Cadi, and have justice done him, for he knew well that his wife had threatened to apply to the Cadi herself, and she possessed more interest with the administrator of justice than her husband. What could he do?—he had no longer a house, a wife, or a shop, and without the latter how could he live?

Driven to desperation, he determines to quit the country, and as soon as his feet were in a travelling state, he sets out—and having fortunately in his inner girdle, for he had only been stripped of his outer vestments, a roll of Mahmoudies, which, for security, Hassan always pru-

dently kept so close to his person, he was enabled to begin life again, though not in so splendid a style as he had been hitherto accustomed to.

He could no longer aspire to be a Doukanji of the first class, or to take a handsome shop in the bazaar, and therefore when he came to Kuttaieh, which he fixed upon as his future residence, Hassan, with all the resignation of a good Musselman, exhibited his stock in trade more humbly on a board placed on the pavement before the door of the principal klan. He had ginger and cinnamon, and black pepper, mastic, camel beads and needles, thimbles and paper lanterns.

Seven long years had passed away, and Hassan, though not much discontented with his change of fortune, for he was submissive to whatever was the will of God, thought he would return once more to his native town, for local attachment beats even in a Musselman's heart; he thought of his wife too with affection, little as she merited it.

His arrangements were soon completed, and having engaged a return horse from a caterdgi, he was soon on his road. His girdle was heavier



than when he left, for Hassan was a thrifty man, and the mahmoudies were nearly doubled.

It may be supposed he took the road to Stamboul, and if so, what wonders might not Hassan have seen, if he had been an antiquary. Brusa, founded by Prusias, the protector of Hannibal, and the capital of the kings of Bithynia; and Mount Olympas with its snowy summits;—but Hassan, as a good Musselman, looked only at the mosques of Sultan Achmed, Sultan Osman and the Oolah, with the tombs of Orkan and his sons; and refreshed himself in one of the thousand hamams of the city.

While Hassan is on his journey, it is time to see what is going on at his own house. His wife had long been conscience smitten, and would willingly have dismissed the Dervish and taken back her husband, but, with all the inquiries she could make, no news could be heard of him. The Dervish therefore personated Hassan still, and found the gain of a Doukanji more agreeable than filling water-cups, and crying ‘hok, hok, hok.’

The mind of his partner in crime became notwithstanding daily more uneasy, and she as

earnestly longed to be making a milk chalva for her poor Hassan, as she had longed before to get rid of him.

Hassan continued his route, and the caterdgi having fairly performed his contract, and sat him down once more in his old town, Hassan's cogitations were at work for the best mode of ascertaining the present history of his house and his shop.

He knew that no one was better acquainted with all the news, truth or scandal, of the place, than Eyub, the Humanji. He therefore went directly to the bath, and finding that he was received in the usual business-like way, without any expression of surprise or one single remark, Hassan could not refrain from asking why Eyub did not congratulate him on his return after so long an absence. "Wonderful!" said the shampooer, "long absence indeed! why it was but *yesterday* that I had you under my hands upon the marble, and did you not roar out as you used to do, when I kneaded that projecting lump on the shoulder a little harder than was pleasant?" Hassan insisted it was seven long years since he had been there, and the other insisted

so positively that he was mad in saying so, that Hassan walked away in a pet to his own house.

His knock at the door was more cautious and less awakening than the former one, for the bastinado was not yet forgotten ; but how agreeably was he surprised when the door was opened by his wife, with a face which said plainly, I am glad to see you.

It must be understood that the Dervish had been some time dismissed to his tekke and water-filling, and the lady, sincerely penitent, determined to atone for past misconduct.

She considered it necessary, however, to her plan, to keep her husband in delusion still a little longer—and therefore when she saw him at the door, she threw as much unconcern into the pleasure which his return gave her as she could muster ; and her first words were, that the milk chalva, which he had ordered was spoiling, as he had taken so long a nap. “ A long nap, indeed,” said Hassan, “ seven years is a pretty long nap ; to say nothing of my journey from Kutaieh too, and that is not a step.” “ What are you talking about seven years and Kutaieh ?” rejoined the dame ; “ where are your brains

travelling to? Why did you not, this very afternoon, when you came from your shop, order a milk chalva, and did you not fall asleep while I was preparing it, and have you not slept so long that it is as hard as the ostrich's egg in the great mosque?"

The husband, perplexed to insanity, next shows his swollen feet in evidence of the long journey he had just taken. The affectionate wife cautioned him against saying a word more about it, as he would perhaps be bastinadoed by the Cadi to cure him of his disposition to lying.

Bewildered and bewildered more and more, Hassan goes next to his shop, not to open it, for it was after the hour, but to see if it really stood in the same place. It not only had not changed its locality, but his old friends the Kabobji, the Sherbetji, the barber, and the baker, were in their shops, and employed as usual.

Hassan waits patiently for the felicitations which he doubted not would come upon him thick as locusts upon young corn, but when not one *Hosh gelde* escapes their lips, he upbraided them bitterly for such want of friendship, after a seven years' absence. "How seven years?" cried all

four, and many others of the bazaar, with one voice, “how seven years? Did we not see you open and shut your shop yesterday, and have you not been there sitting and smoking day after day for four-and-twenty years, without having your place empty a single day? What evil eye has bewildered your brains to talk of seven years’ absence?”

What could poor Hassan do? He began seriously to suspect that he had been dreaming; and going home to his wife, confessed his belief of it, and quietly ate his milk chalva.

The ring is *yours*, cried the miller to this talented dame—take it, and take yourself away with it as fast as possible, lest you should be disposed to exercise your ingenuity here.

## CHAPTER IX.

The Mollah of Ishekli—Antiquarian Saraff—Terraced roofs—  
Leave Ishekli—Arrive at Deenare—Other travelling gentlemen in the Oda of the Mollah—Effect of the air of Apamea upon the appetite, as illustrated by Lithyverses, son of King Midas—Former visit to Deenare in 1826.

*Friday, November 2.*—When we saw the threatening appearance of this morning we regretted to have lost the opportunity of going to Deenare yesterday, but regrets were unavailing ; and as the rain soon began to fall, and continued all the morning, we remained quietly shut up in our chamber. When the rain ceased for half an hour, I availed myself of it to see a handsome sarcophagus of white marble, with some fine Corinthian capitals in the court of a private house adjoining one of the mosques.

Returning to the khan, a polite message was brought us from the Mollah, assuring us we were

at liberty to make every research, and requesting us to pay him a visit. We were at a loss to understand this gratuitous civility, till an old Turk came and kissed my hand in token of thankfulness for benefit received for some little medicine I had given him yesterday. The Mollah himself, either indisposed, or imagining himself to be so, wished to consult the Hakim bashi. But we could not wait on him till our dinner was cooked and eaten: the first an important operation, as we were not fed now on dinners of charity, and had no servant to assist us.

A saraff (banker) from Constantinople, whose duties are to collect and carry back the taxes and other payments due from this district into the royal treasury, volunteered to be our conducteur to the Mollah. He was gone out, and though we called a second time, he was not returned, and the Hakim bashi will not be immortalized at Ishekli.

Our friend, the saraff, proposed a walk under the acropolis, and when we were near the sources, he pointed out two arched excavations in the rock. "Wonderful, wonderful!" said the antiquary, "who would have thought it? the

ancients had ‘magasins a feu,’ fire-proof magazines, as well as we, and how judiciously placed, so close to the water, in case of accidents.” Fire-proof or not, they are certainly time proof, and whatever their original destination, are of remote antiquity.

There is a square doorway some way up on the side of the hill, unquestionably a tomb ; and as below it the earth has fallen, belting the rock all round, washed down from above and leaving the rock bare, there is little doubt that the tombs are all concealed by these heaps of earth, and therefore hitherto inviolate.

We met the old blind bard again this evening, and he did not hesitate to make a successful appeal to our purses, and we gave him readily, as a most pitiable object of charity ; but we did not then know, that notwithstanding his loss of sight and apparent poverty, he maintains two or more wives in his harem at Hushak.

It may now be positively asserted, on the evidence of inscriptions, &c., that Ishekli stands on the site of the ancient city of Eumenia, probably built by Eumenes, king of Pergamus, and named from him ; though it is possible he might only



have given his own name to a city already existing, but improved by him.

Eumenia is placed in the Tabular Itinerary at the distance of twenty-six miles from Apamea, and thirty from Eucarpia. Medals attest the worship of the *dæmon Angdistis* at Eumenia, under which name the *mother* of the gods was adored at Pessinus. Her worship in the country adjacent to the Meander, may be inferred from Pliny, who alludes to her epithet of Berecynthia in the passage in which he speaks of Eumenia. In later times, the demon was vanquished by the spirit of Christianity, and a christian church flourished at Eumenia, and the names of some of the bishops who presided over it have descended to us.

Thranus.

Theodorus.

Leo.

Paulus.

Epiphanius.

Among the collection of medals, which were in the possession of the khanji at Ishekli, were Eumenia, Apamea, Eucarpia, Acmonia, Peltæ, Dicoclia, &c.

Eumenes, the founder or restorer of Eumenia, is mentioned in the first book of the Maccabees, chap. viii. verse 8. Having joined the Romans in their war against Antiochus the Great, he received in recompence the country of “the Indians, Medes, and Lydians,” as the text of the Maccabees reads; but it is very probable we should read “the Ionians, Mysians, and Lydians.”

*Saturday, November 5.*—The atmosphere was lighter this morning, though still the clouds rolled along under the peak of the mountain of Ishekli; and dense masses of every colour, black, grey, red, and waxy, were to be seen in every direction of the immense view, east, west, north, and south.

We were obliged to tread lightly along the terraced roof of the khan to get this view, for the earth which composed it was so saturated by the immense quantity of rain, that we might have afforded a good illustration of Mark, v. 19 —“The letting down through the tiling;” though not with the degree of security that could be wished.

We left Ishekli at half past nine: the village

of Jovakeny lay on the left at a quarter before ten, and we arrived at Omai at a quarter past twelve. The view of this village, embosomed in wood, with all the variety of autumnal tints, was strikingly beautiful. I had not remarked in my former journey that there are numerous tombs high in the mountain side ; another proof that an ancient town stood here ; probably the "*advicum*" of the tables, lying between Eumenia and Apamea, and possibly the *Comen* of the consul Manlius, though I shall hereafter give better reasons for placing it elsewhere.

At one o'clock we were among tents of Eurukes, and Mr. Dethier's whip was again in full exercise against the dogs. The village of Ishaklee was on the right. At twenty minutes past two we came to the mill. The proper name of the river is Yapachlar chay, instead of Yapallal chay, and so called from a village. We alighted here, and while Mr. Dethier strolled off with his gun, I found friend Kyriacos had made acquaintance with the Termendji, the miller, and was feasting on his best bread and cheese.

We left the mill at a quarter before three, and arrived at Deenare at a quarter before five. I

wished to renew my acquaintance with the proprietors of the houses who had entertained me so hospitably formerly, but both were filled to overflowing, one by a new Aga and his suite, on their way to the Agalic.

We were marched about from house to house, and street to street, till it was dark, and were almost in despair of finding a conac, when we were agreeably surprised at being installed in the oda of the Mollah himself, the best house in the place.

A magnificent fire blazed on the hearth, our matrasses were spread, the palank eased of its paplomas, the contents of the canteen displayed, and all preparations made for doing honour to the expected dinner, when two other travelling gentlemen were introduced, who were to be our companions at board and bed.

They were gaunt, bony, six feet gentlemen, by occupation beggars, and literally heaps of filth and rags. Kyriacos was commissioned to request them civilly to walk out again, and when they shewed no disposition to do so, to insist on our having the apartment to ourselves. All the answer they deigned to give was, to open their

bundles of rags and prepare for conacking. Kyriacos was dispatched to complain to the oda bashi, but we could get no redress. "In the sight of God," said the Mollah, "all men are equal, and the beggar in his rags is as much entitled to the hospitality of our oda, as the rich man in his benish of Samure."

While we felt the justice of this reply, and assented to this evangelical definition of what charity should be, we still were uneasy at passing the night in such company. We tried another mode, and it was successful: a few piastres readily persuaded the travelling gents to leave us in quiet possession of the apartment, and they found almost as good a one close by where they were as well entertained as ourselves.

We found the air of Apamea quite as invigorating to the appetite, though our dinner was somewhat more moderate than that of a royal personage at this place in earlier times, whose daily consumption was as much bread as three asses could carry, and a hogshead of wine.\*

\* "Sed minuta hæc videri poterunt, si cum iis conferas, quæ de Lityerse, Midæ regis notho Celænis in Phrygia regnante, homine vultu effero et truculento, sed bibone glutone-

Before I proceed, it is desirable that the reader should be made acquainted with my former visit to Deenare in 1826.

1826.—We quitted Ishekli at eight o'clock, passed along the foot of the mountain, east-south-east, and saw the river of Ishekli, called Akkias, or Arkas, (query, the Orgas?) coming out from beneath the mountain in two streams, which almost immediately united and became a wide crystalline river flowing down to the south-east, the banks marked by trees.

At a quarter before nine, came to a burial-ground, having fragments as usual. At nine, our course was south-south-east, almost at the foot of the range of mountains; here was another burial-ground, and on the right a marsh and reeds, with water. As we proceeded, the marsh resembled a marshy lake full of reeds; the surface of the water in some parts covered with the lotus. Here were wild-ducks, and a quantity of cattle, bullocks, and horses, feeding; we were

que supra fidem maximo, Sositheus Tragicus memoriæ prodidit. Hunc etenim totum vini dolium uno die e bibendo vacuas-  
asse, triumque ditellarariorum asinorum onus, panes devorasse  
scribit apud Athenæum, lib. 10.—*Pancirollus de Porcellanis*,  
p. 224.

told it was full of wild boars. A Euruke woman said the lake was called Deniz, but a Turk called it Ishekli-ovasi-ghioul, and said that it extended all the way to Deenare.

At half past ten, still at the mountain foot, and our course south-east; we came to a little stream running down into the reedy lake, the source of which was by the road side under the mountain. Close on the right rose a small hill, on which I saw some pottery, and some rough stones at the top; remained there twenty minutes, and came to Omai at half past eleven.

This is a small village, embosomed in wood, at the bottom of an immensely high precipitous hill, black in many parts with iron ore; a stream falling like a cataract with loud noise over its steep.

I had heard so much of this place at Ishekli, and it corresponded so much at first view with the local circumstances of Celænæ, that I determined to go up to the top of the mountain in defiance of the burning heat of a noon-day sun.

The ascent was long and difficult, but I arrived at last at the sources of the stream which issues out in considerable quantity from beneath some

large stones, forming a small pool near a mill, and thence falling down the steep with considerable noise, occasionally working other mills till it reaches the bottom of the village. These sources are called Bounar-bashi, or Subashi. It is lost in the plain at a short distance from the village, in a direction towards the Meander.

Another river, called the Codja-chay, the old river, comes out from between the mountains at the left near the village, and is said to have its sources beyond Sandukli. From the top of the hill I observed this river, which was nearly dry, run also towards the Meander.

At the summit of this mountain of Omai, much higher even than the sources, is a castle called Ak-kalesi, and above the castle itself is a lake. Such was the information of the miller. I observed, on my way back to the village, some large square stones much decayed, and apparently of great age.

It was the bazaar day, and the village was crowded. I had just seated myself, excessively fatigued by my walk, and was preparing to re-invigorate my stomach by a tempting dish of cabobs



hot from the oven, when a messenger from the Aga commanded my immediate appearance before him. I sent Milcom to make my excuses, pleading inability from the fatigue of the walk, and to acquaint him that I had a firman and teskeray.

A second messenger came, and then a third, but I resolved to eat my cabobs quietly, and having done so, waited on the Aga with my documents in due form. The firman was put into the hands of the village Imaun, who was directed to read it,—an injunction he obeyed with an audible voice, even to the last letter, to the edification of multitudes of people forming a dense circle, six or eight deep, around us. At the conclusion, the Aga was pleased to say, it was very good ; and he added something, which my dragoman Milcom translated, “ Bravo, the Grand Signior.”

We quitted Omai at half past two, and at a quarter before three crossed a wide but now shallow stream, running down into the Meander, called the Codja sou, said to have its sources beyond Sandukli. A village called Chan-

deri lay on the right, and at half past three the reedy marsh was again close to us, with a lake in the centre, of small size, called Guk-ghioul.

At four o'clock our course as before, south-south-east; the road at the foot of the same lofty range of mountains on the left, and the reedy lake on the right. At a quarter before five a burial-ground, with fragments much decayed, and near it another river running down on the left, called Yapallel chay, a considerable stream, working a mill, and having its source close by the mountain side.

At five, our course the same, a little more inclined to south-east. The plain now narrowed to less than half its width, but the river, which had all the day been in the centre, and which every person we asked called the Meander, still flowed along in it, though nearer the right range of mountains than before: the reedy lake had terminated some time.

At six o'clock we observed a considerable lake unconnected with the former, directly in the course of the river, with reeds about it. Soon after, Deenare appeared immediately a-head of us.\*

\* Visit to the Churches, p. 38.

The evidences for the site of Apamea are given as follows by Colonel Leake, with much particularity of detail: “ There cannot be a stronger proof of the little progress yet made in geographical discovery in Asia Minor, than the fact, that the site of Apamea still remains unexplored. Under the name of Celænæ, it was the capital of Phrygia; and in Roman times, though not equal in political importance to Laodicea, which was the residence of the proconsul of Asia, it was inferior only to Ephesus as a centre of commercial transactions.

“ According to Xenophon, the Meander rose in the palace of Cyrus, flowing from thence through his park and the city of Celænæ; and the sources of the Marsyas were at the palace of the king of Persia, in a lofty situation under the acropolis of Celænæ. From Arrian and Q. Curtius we learn that the citadel was upon a lofty precipitous hill, and that the Marsyas fell from its fountains over the rocks with a great noise: from Herodotus it appears that the same river was from this circumstance called Catarrhactes; and from Strabo, that a lake on the mountain above Celænæ was the reputed source both of

the Marsyas, which rose in the ancient city, and of the Meander.

“Comparing these authorities with Livy, who probably copied his account from Polybius, with Pliny, with Maximus Tyrius, and with the existing coins of Apamea, it may be inferred that a lake or pool on the summit of a mountain which rose above Celænæ, and which was called Celænæ, or Signia, was the reputed source of the Marsyas and Meander; but that, in fact, the two rivers issued from different parts of the mountain below the lake; that the lake was called Aulocrene, as producing reeds well adapted for flutes; and that it gave the name of Aulocrenis to a valley extending for ten miles from the lake to the eastward; that the source of the Marsyas was in a cavern on the side of the mountain in the ancient agora of Celænæ; that the Marsyas and Meander, both of which flowed through Celænæ, united a little below the ancient site; that to this junction the city was removed by Antiochus Soter, son of Seleucus Nicator, when he gave it a new name after his mother Apama; and that the united stream was

soon afterwards joined by the Orgas and the Obrimas.

“Whether these inferences, drawn from the ancient authors, are correct, will be decided by the future traveller. He may also ascertain whether there are any volcanic rocks, the burnt appearance of which will justify the etymologist, who ascribed to that cause the origin of the word Celænæ, or he may discover the valley of Aulocrenis, the scene of the celebrated contest of Apollo with Marsyas, whose skin was still shown in the time of Herodotus, in the acropolis of Celænæ.

“I have been thus particular,” adds Colonel Leake, “in laying before the reader the ancient evidences on the site of Apamea, because it is a point of great importance to the ancient geography of the western part of Asia Minor; no less so than Tyana is to the eastern.”

Bearing those observations in mind on my first visit to Deenare, in April 1826, we walked behind the town towards the north-west, and saw considerable fragments of walls, &c. which had been covered with soil, but lately again ex-

posed to view, partly by excavations, and partly from the accidental falling away of the earth ; these were at the base of the hill, and underneath them issued the sources of a small river. I was instantly reminded of the springs of the Marsyas at Celænæ, by the palace of the king of Persia, beneath the acropolis.

Ascending the hill, we found, nearly at the summit, a *theatre* with the subsellia remaining, but the stones removed. Above this was a large area, covered with pottery, probably the acropolis.

Descending again, we saw a river flowing down through the valley under the acropolis, on the south-east side, which, after supplying several mills, united in the plain before the town with the smaller stream whose sources we had just before remarked, and then fell into the larger river, which, much increased in size by these additions, flowed down through the plain, and which we were told by our guide was the Meander.

We copied several inscriptions, and met with fragments of cornices and capitals, pedestals and columns, at every step. The town is said to con-

tain only one hundred houses and one mosque ; but this seems underrated.

Nothing on this journey afforded positive proof of the identity of Deenare with Apamea, though much to support the probability.

In the month of September in the same year, I was again at Deenare, and was convinced immediately, on a second examination, that the ruins could be no other than those of Apamea. From the information of a miller, I found that the river which worked his and many other mills, and which flowed through a deep ravine from the east, or rather north-north-east, dividing the ruins of the ancient town, was called Bounar-bashi, or Deenare-sou ; that the river in front of Deenare, the Meander, was called Araboul-dou-chay ; that it passes by a village called Deegetzi ; and that the sources of both the Deenare-sou and the Araboul-dou, are at a place called Bounar-bashi, or Subashi, where there is an old khan.

This man who was very civil and communicative, said there was a large building on the top of the mountain, behind Deenare, in the direction of the Deenare-sou. I accompanied him about half an hour to see it, but, as it required,

by his account, at least another hour to ascend the mountain to it, I was reluctantly compelled to relinquish a most desirable object of investigation ; I copied a few inscriptions, but could not find a single one containing the name of the town.

We left Deenare at a quarter before nine, our course south, and at half-past nine crossed, by a bridge, a river which I at first took for the Araboul-dou, but it proved not to be so. This stream, which is a considerable one, must rise from beneath the hill on our left, for there is no outlet whatever, but hills on every side. The Araboul-dou flowed still on the right, parallel to our road, though occasionally hid by the intervening elevations of ground. At ten o'clock we had it in view on our right, and the village of Deegetzi in front of us. Soon after, we crossed this river, flowing down the side of the hill in several streams to a mill ; our course now become north-north-east, the river on the left, close to us, a crystalline and considerable stream, full of small fishes.

We were now in a valley about a quarter of a mile broad, between ranges of mountains, following the course of the river. At half past



ten came to the village of Sheik Arab, close to which the river passes, and near it a quantity of reeds. The valley is here inclosed by mountains on all sides, and the river must go under the mountain, or rather come out from beneath it. A Eureka told us it rises from a lake above the mountain.

Turning our horses, we now ascended rather steeply to the east. At half past eleven, having ascended to a considerable height, by a very difficult and stony path, and finding no lake, we descended on the other side, nearly north-east, into an extensive plain, running north and south, and here, immediately at the foot of the mountain, was a small lake with reeds, the water beautifully clear.

In the centre there was an eddying, or rather a whirling round of the water, and on examination it proceeded from the sinking of the water through several holes distinctly visible at the bottom, and through which it was evident it passed under the mountain. Constantine made a curious observation, which reminded me of the description of Maximus Tyrius. He pointed out to me that the water divided into two opposite

currents, one flowing to the right, the other to the left, and each sinking into the earth as if the sources of separate streams.

In searching for the lake on the summit of the mountain, I was misled, partly by the translation from ancient authorities, but chiefly by considering *απανω* to mean *on the summit*, instead of *above*. Relatively with the village of Sheik Arab, this lake was above, that is, to the north-east of it. We soon found the lake of greater extent, and covered with reeds.

We now entered the plain of Dombai ovasi, having many villages on the side of the opposite range of mountains, which runs north and south, forming the eastern boundary of the plain. A *Euruke* who was carrying reeds in two or three well-constructed waggons with iron wheels, and drawn by buffaloes, told us that the Sheik Arab river had its source in this lake, and passed under the mountain.

At one o'clock we had crossed the entire breadth of Dombai ovasi, and then turned to the right by the side of the range of mountains, which in a quarter of an hour brought us to Bounar-bashi, or Subashi. A considerable quantity of

water issued by three or four (probably five, as it is called also Besh Bounarbashi) sources under the hill, and running across the plain among the reeds, which continued all the way.

Above the sources is the old building which has been called a khan, but which rather resembles an ancient church; it stands east and west, and has three aisles, the centre communicating with the side ones by four or five pointed arches. Thousands of goats and sheep were all around this refreshing water, and their masters, Eurukes or Turcomans, up to the middle in it.

It is high time to continue the account of our present journey, and the reader will now be prepared to judge if the author has succeeded in fixing the site of Apamea at Deenare.

## CHAPTER X.

Sources of the Marsyas—Ancient church—Inscription probably connected with the Roman proconsul—Letters of Cicero to Appius, Cato and Sallustius—Panthers—Cistophores of Apamea—Changes by earthquakes—Inscriptions relate to an earthquake in the reign of Tiberius Claudius—Paul's prison opened at Philippi about the time of the same earthquake.

*Saturday November 4.*—Ascending the hill at the back of the town, and leaving the theatre on the left, we descended into the little ravine which separates the two hills, and through which flows the river called the Deenare-sou, and we were agreeably surprised to find the sources of this river issuing out in two streams from beneath the opposite hill, having immediately above it a high ridge of naked rock.

As this could be no other than the Marsyas, we looked around for the cavern which was anciently seen at its source. It is possible that some large detached masses of rock, through

which the sources issue, may at present block up the entrance, but I observed, certainly, a small cavern or grotto a short way below.

In the high rock which is immediately above the sources is a square cavity, like the doorway of a tomb, but it is evident that water has flowed through it, and if so, the description of Arrian and Quintus Curtius would be strictly correct, that the Marsyas fell from its fountains over the rocks with a great noise.

We crossed the ravine, and climbed up to the top of this rocky ridge ; beyond it the ground rises to a considerable height, and near this we supposed must have been the ancient site of the acropolis of Celænæ.

Recollecting that the miller had brought me up here on my last journey, with an assurance that there was a *castle* on the summit, which I had not patience to discover, we went now in pursuit of it, encouraged by the additional evidence of the sources of the Marsyas, and nothing doubting but we should find remains of the acropolis itself.

After a toilsome walk, we did find the object of our search ; not indeed a castle, but some-

thing infinitely more interesting to the christian minister, and what ought to be much more in accordance with his feelings on a sabbath day—the remains of a very early christian church.

All the ground-plan exists, and numerous crosses attest its original appropriation. The walls are formed of very large square blocks of marble, without cement. A fuller account of this edifice will be given hereafter.

We could see nothing in evidence that the ancient acropolis occupied this elevated site ; but going straight downwards towards the west, it is clear that it occupied that part of the hill lying on the southern side of the ravine and the Mar-syas, while the acropolis of the more modern city, Apamea, was on the northern side near the theatre.

The acropolis of Celænæ, as we may now call it, is almost a Golgotha, a place of tombs, with numberless inscriptions, but almost the whole defaced by exposure to weather. Several rocks had sepulchral excavations ; some two or three.

In descending from the church to this spot, we saw on our left the course of the Meander

round the hill, and the village of Sheik Arab, where it issues from beneath the mountain.

Returning to the village, by happily missing my road to the Oda, I found a fragment of a white marble column, and upon it an inscription which, if any further evidence was needed to prove the identity of Deenare with Apamea, abundantly supplies it.

QVI : APAMEAE

NEGOTIANTVR

H . C .

*Qui Apameæ negotiantur hoc curaverant.*

It is possible, as this is a Latin inscription, it may relate to the monument which the city of Apamea proposed to erect to Appius Pulcher, the proconsul, and which is the subject of the following letter from Cicero his successor.

“ TO APPIUS PULCHER.

“ A.U. 703.—I will answer your letter more fully than I can at present, the very first moment I shall have more leisure. In the mean time I snatch the opportunity of sending this by the hands of some domestic of Brutus, who just now

called upon me at Laodicea, and are returning with all expedition to Rome. They are in so much haste that I have only time to write this and another to Brutus.

“ The deputies from Apamea delivered your long letter to me, wherein you very unjustly accuse me of having obstructed by my mandates the *public monument*, which that city proposed to raise. You desire I would suffer them to proceed immediately upon the execution of that design, lest they should be prevented by the winter; and very severely reproach me for having suspended the assessments for that purpose, till I should be able to inquire into the justice of raising them. This, you tell me, was in some sort an absolute prohibition; since the winter would necessarily be set in, before I could return out of Cilicia in order to examine into that affair. Having thus stated the several articles of your charge, I will now show you that they are altogether unreasonable. In the first place, then, as I had received complaints on the part of those who thought themselves aggrieved by excessive taxes, where was the injustice, if I forbade these subsidies to be levied till I could examine into



the merits of the case? But this, it seems, I could not be able to effect, till the winter. Yet why not? let me ask; since it was the part of those who made these complaints to wait upon me, rather than mine to attend them. But you will object, perhaps, to the reasonableness of laying these people under the difficulty of taking so long a journey. Yet this journey, you yourself must necessarily have designed they should take, when you gave them your letter to deliver to me. And deliver it they accordingly did; but they timed it so absurdly, that though it was to desire they might be permitted to begin their work during the summer, they did not bring it to me till that season was expired. I must acquaint you, however, that far the greater part of these very citizens are averse to the levying this tax in question; nevertheless I shall take such measures for that purpose, as I imagine will prove most agreeable to your inclinations. And thus much for this Apamean business.” \*

Apamea is so connected with the history of Cicero—for though the principal seat of

\* Cicero's Letters, by Melmoth.

the proconsular government was at Laodicea; he resided much also at Apamea—that a few more extracts may not be unacceptable.

By a law enacted by Pompey, senators of consular and prætorian rank, who had never held any foreign command, were to divide the vacant provinces among themselves by lot. Cicero obtained the government of Cilicia, then in the hands of Appius, the late consul; this province included also Pisidia, Pamphylia, and other dioceses, as they were called, or districts of Asia, together with the island of Cyprus; for the guard of all which, a standing army was kept up of two legions, or about twelve thousand foot; with two thousand six hundred horse.

The appointment was as contrary to his expectation as to his wishes; but he discharged its duties, as might have been expected from his character, with the most exemplary and disinterested fidelity. He landed at Ephesus on the twenty-second of July, remained there three days, and then marched forward to Laodicea, being six days on the road. The following extract from a letter to Cato gives an interesting view of his subsequent movements.

## “ TO MARCUS CATO.

A. U. 793.—“ I arrived in this province on the last of July ; and as the season of the year rendered it necessary for me to hasten to the army, I continued only two days at Laodicea, four at Apamea, three at Synnada, and as many at Philomelium. I found great numbers of people assembled in those several towns, in expectation of my arrival ; and during my stay in each, I relieved many cities from the oppressive taxes they laboured under, reduced the exorbitant interest they paid for the money they had been obliged to borrow, and discharged them from the unjust demands of their various creditors.

“ Before I arrived in my government, a mutiny had arisen in the army, and the soldiers had dispersed themselves into different parts of the province ; five cohorts, in particular, were retired to Philomelium, without a single officer to command them. I therefore ordered my lieutenant Anneius, to conduct these scattered regiments to the main body in Lycaonia, and to assemble the whole army at Iconium : where I directed him to encamp. As soon as the junc-

tion of all the troops was completed, I reviewed the whole army ; and on the thirtieth of August we began to move towards Cilicia.

“ I thought it advisable” (having heard that the Parthians had invaded Syria) “ to lead my troops through that part of Cappadocia which borders on Cilicia. If, indeed, I had marched directly into Cilicia, I could easily have protected that district of my province from any invasion on the side of Syria ; as it cannot be entered without traversing Mount Amanus, over which there are only two defiles that might be defended by a very small force. In short, nothing can be more impregnable than Cilicia is from that quarter, by the fortification with which nature has secured it. But my chief concern was for Cappadocia, which lies entirely open towards Syria.”

After his victory at Amanus over the Parthians, for which he obtained the appellation of emperor, Cicero devoted himself wholly to the civil duties of his office. The manner in which he discharged those duties may be seen in his letter to Atticus, (*Book vi. letter 2,*) too long for insertion here, but well meriting perusal.

A passage in it offers an example worthy of imitation by all persons in high offices. "There is no difficulty of access to me, as there is to all other provincial governors; no introduction by my chamberlain: I am always up before day, and walking in my hall, with my doors open."

Cicero did not enrich *himself*, nor would he permit his officers to do so by the use of the public money; and out of the annual revenue, which was decreed to him for the use of the province, he remitted to the treasury all that he had not expended, to the amount of above eight hundred thousand pounds.

An account of all the monies which had passed through his own or his officers' hands, stated and balanced, was deposited in two of the principal cities of his jurisdiction, and a third in the treasury at Rome. It is to this that his letter to Caninius Sallustius, the proquæstor relates.

TO CANINIUS SALLUSTIUS, PROQUÆSTOR.

A. U. 703.—"I find you agree with some other of my friends in thinking that I ought not to have drawn the troops out of Apamea; and I am sorry I should have given occasion by that

step to the malicious censures of my enemies. But you are singular in doubting whether the Parthians had at that time actually repassed the Euphrates. It was in full confidence of a fact so universally confirmed, that I evacuated the several garrisons of those brave and numerous troops with which I had filled them.

“ It is by no means reasonable that I should transmit my quæstor’s accounts to you; nor indeed are they yet settled. I intend, however, to deposit a copy of them at Apamea. In answer to what you mention concerning the booty which we took from the Parthians in this war, let me assure you, that no man shall touch any part of it, except the city quæstors on behalf of the public. I purpose to leave the money at Laodicea which shall arise from the sale of those spoils, and to take security for its being paid at Rome, in order to avoid the hazard both to myself and the commonwealth, of conveying it in specie.”

I have supposed that the inscription had relation to the public monument intended to be raised by the people of Apamea to Appius, but the foregoing extracts prove, that, though there

is no positive evidence of the fact, it is quite as probable there was a similar testimony of public gratitude offered to Cicero, and the inscription may relate to him.

If there was no such monument, there ought to have been one. "For," says Cicero, "what can be more unlike than the administration of Appius and mine? Under him the province was drained by expenses and exactions; under me, not a penny levied for public or private use. What shall I say of his præfects, attendants, lieutenants? of their plunder, rapines, injuries? whereas now, there is not a single family governed with such order, discipline, and modesty, as my province." \*

Cicero is requested by Cælius to supply him with *panthers* from Cilicia, and to employ the Cybarites, a people of his province, famed for hunting, to catch them. Cicero complied with his friend's request, and provided panthers, which were numerous, at his own expense, and says pleasantly upon it, "that the beasts made a sad complaint against him, and resolved to quit the country, since no snares were laid in his

\* Book vi. letter 1.

province for any other creature but themselves.

Taking Cilicia for the general name of the province, these animals might have been found even in the neighbourhood of Apamea, where in earlier times was the hunting park of Cyrus, though no doubt in greater numbers among the wilds of Taurus. This panther is clearly the same animal which is occasionally met with near Smyrna, and which is described, page 17.

Apamea is one of the few cities which were privileged to strike the beautiful and curious silver medal called the Cistophore, and which even to the present moment puzzles the numismatist. The type, as described by Mionnet, is—

Ciste ouverte d’ou s’échappe un serpent, dans une couronne de pampre.

R—Deux serpens enlacés autour d’un carquois dans lequel est un arc.

On one of the Apamean cistophores is the name of Lentulus Imperator, the proconsul before Appius, who has also his own name on another—Pulcher, Imperator. None have yet been found with the name of Cicero, though no doubt there



was one struck at Apamea as well as at Laodicea; the legend on the latter being M. Tull. Imp.

As there appears very little difference in the relative ages of all the cistophores, as far as may be judged from the fabric, form of the letters, &c., they are probably not of earlier date than the Roman sovereignty in Asia; and though so considerable a number is found at Pergamus as once to induce the belief that they all belonged to that city, yet it is evident that they were struck long after the period when Pergamus, by the will of Attalus, became a Roman province.

I am not aware of a single cistophore struck in any other cities than those which belonged to the Roman proconsular provinces, Smyrna, Pergamus, Sardis, Ephesus, Philadelphia, Tralles, and Laodicea.

On several are the letters ΠΡΥ, either separately or in monogram, as if these medals were struck by the prytaneum of those cities; but as cistophores also exist, having precisely the same type, with the heads of Marc Antony and Cleopatra, it may be inferred that the whole were either struck by the Romans, or in some way for

their use, during their occupation of the country.

By other medals it appears that there were at least two temples at Apamea; no doubt many more. These are of Diana, and of Juno Pronuba.

The reader can now form a very good idea of the extreme difficulty of fixing with positive certainty the sites of ancient cities. Apamea may now be asserted to have been at Deenare with as much confidence as that Ephesus or Sardis stood on the sites which still preserve their names; and yet, let the traveller go to Deenare, and with Herodotus, Xenophon, Strabo, and Arrian in his hand, try to reconcile the actual appearances, especially of the rivers and their sources, and he will be brought to the unavoidable conclusion either that some of these authors do not speak correctly, or that great changes have taken place since the oldest of them wrote. That such changes have taken place at Apamea is confirmed so strongly by the following testimony, that it is only extraordinary enough remains to fix the identity.

In the *Deipnosophistæ* of Athenæus is the fol-

lowing passage, given on the authority of Nicolas Damascenus :

“ At Apamea, in Phrygia, during the Mithridatic war, after an earthquake, (or succession of earthquakes,) lakes burst upon the sight and covered the plains where none had existed before, and rivers and fountains gushed forth ; while many rivers and fountains which had previously existed, altogether disappeared. And notwithstanding the distance of Apamea from the sea, such a quantity of water, salt to the taste, and of a blue colour, was spread over all the country, that there was an abundance of oysters and other fish which are usually found only in the sea.\*

Perhaps much of the difficulty which exists in the attempt to reconcile actual appearances in the present day with the accounts of ancient authors, may be satisfactorily removed by placing these authors in their chronological order.

\* *Περὶ Απάμεαν, φησὶ, τὴν Φρυγιακὴν, κατὰ τὰ Μιθριδάτικὰ σεισμῶν γενόμενων, ἀνεφάνησαν περὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν λίμναι τε, αἱ πρότερον οὐκ οὔσαι καὶ ποταμοὶ, καὶ ἄλλαι πηγαὶ ὑπὸ τῆς κινήσεως ἀνοιχθεῖσαι· πολλαὶ δὲ καὶ ἠφανίσθησαν—τοσούτων τε ἄλλο ἀνέβλυσεν αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ πικρὸν τε καὶ γλαυκόν, ὕδωρ, πλείστον ὕσον ἀπεχύουσι τῶν τοπων τῆς θαλάσσης, ὥστε οστρέων πλησθῆναι τὸν πλησιον τόπον ἅπαντα, καὶ ἰχθύων τῶν τε ἄλλων ὅσα τρέφει ἡ θάλασσα.—*Athenæi. Deipn.* lib. 8.*

Herodotus lived about . . 444 B. C.

Xenophon . . . . . 359

Polybius . . . . . 124

N. Damascenus, about the time of our Lord's birth.

Strabo . . . . . 25 A. C.

Arrian . . . . . 132

Maximus Tyrius . . . . . 194

The earliest are Herodotus and Xenophon ; next Polybius, whom Livy copied : then Damascenus. Soon after whom lived Strabo, and about a century later, Arrian ; and sixty years after Arrian lived Maximus Tyrius.

The appearances at the present day are correctly described by Maximus Tyrius, and he described what he had been an eye-witness of. These appearances are altogether at variance with the earliest accounts of Herodotus, and Xenophon, and Polybius ; but this is, we have seen, satisfactorily accounted for by Damascenus, who says, that about fifty years before he was born, every thing had been changed at Apamea by an earthquake, especially the rivers and their sources. Arrian and Strabo, who lived after him, seem to have merely followed the old accounts of Herodotus and Xenophon.

Severely as Apamea has suffered in all periods of her history from earthquakes, she was not included in the list of the twelve cities of Asia which were overthrown in the fifth year of Tiberius, and therefore the inscriptions which I found, and which are published in my first journey, do not relate to the liberality of that emperor, but to a subsequent earthquake which happened in the reign of Tiberius Claudius, mentioned by Tacitus: "To the citizens of Apamea, whose city had been overthrown by an earthquake, the tribute was remitted for five years." \* This was A.U. 807, and A. 54.

It is a curious coincidence, and well worthy attention, for I do not recollect to have ever seen it mentioned, that the earthquake which happened at Philippi, and by which the doors of Paul's

\* "Tributum que Apamensibus, terræ motu convulsis, in quinquenium remissum."

I shall long retain a lively recollection of these inscriptions, because on my second visit, when I wished to be assured of the accuracy of my first copy, the gentleman and the lady of the mansion, though they received me most kindly as an old acquaintance, made me useful in helping them to put away some immense sacks of dari into a wine-press, converted into a corn-bin, under the inscription.

prison were opened, was in the year 53, perhaps a few months only before the tribute was remitted to the citizens of Apamea.\* Now an earthquake sufficiently strong to overthrow a city in Asia Minor, would be felt strongly also in the remoter distances of Macedonia—sufficiently strong, perhaps, to open the bars of a prison door. The great earthquake at Aleppo was felt severely in Smyrna, though no buildings were thrown down. As God often works miracles even by natural causes, so the prison doors being opened to Paul by the earthquake, would still be the effect of divine agency. Does not this fact afford much internal evidence of the truth of the sacred historians?

\* “And suddenly there was a great earthquake, so that the foundations of the prison were shaken; and immediately all the doors were opened, and every one’s bonds were loosed.”—*Acts* xvi. 25.

## CHAPTER XI.

Tradition of the Ark resting at Apamea from the Sybilline verses—Medals in support of this tradition—Extract from the Noachic journal in Fraser's Magazine—St. Paul probably at Apamea—The ruins of a very early church—Bishops of Apamea—Form and divisions of the earliest churches.

BUT tradition has honoured Apamea by connecting it with an event which produced more important changes in the world than earthquakes—the general deluge. In the Sybilline verses, which though probably spurious, are very ancient, we are told that Mount Ararat, on which the ark rested, is on the confines of Phrygia, at the sources of the river Marsyas, and hence it is supposed that Apamea was called Apamea Kibotos, or Apamea, *the ark*, distin-

guishing it from other cities of the same name.

“The ark,” says Bochart, “a little while after the subsidence of the waters of the deluge, is said by Moses to have rested upon the mountains Ararat.” In what part of the world are these mountains? The Sibylline verses decide the question :

“On the frontiers of black Phrygia rises a lofty mountain, called Ararat.” \*

If, then, we may believe the Sibyl, Mount Ararat was in Phrygia ; and if we would know the precise spot in Phrygia, she will tell us it was “at the sources of the great river Marsyas.”

If you are still incredulous, the Sibyl will

\* Ἐστὶ δὲ τις Φρυγίης ἐπὶ ἡπειροιο μελαίνης  
 Ἰλίουβατον τανύμηκεν ὄρος, Ἀραράτ ἡ ἐκαλεῖται.  
 Μαρσύου ἔνθα φλέβες μεγάλου ποταμοῖο πέφυκεν.  
 —ἐκφυγον αἰπὸν ὄλεθρον  
 Πολλὰ κλυδωνισθεὶς ἀμεμῶ πόσει, ἥ δαέρεσσιν  
 Ἥ δ' ἐκυρῶ θεκῶρη, ὁμονύμοισιν τε παθοῦσα.

Bochart supposes, with much probability, that *μελαίνης* *Φρυγίης* should be read *Κελαινής*—Phrygia Celæna.

And Celænæ, instead of being a *very lofty* mountain, is described by Strabo, Ptolemy, and Stephanus, as a *λοφος* or hill ; correctly answering to the existing appearances at Deenare —Bochart. *Sacr. Geogr.* book 1. ch. 3.



kindly offer her personal testimony to the fact ; and that you may admit she is a competent witness, she tells you she is no less a personage than the *daughter-in-law* of Noah, whether wife of Shem, Ham, or Japhet, does not appear, and was of the happy number who escaped the destroying waters.

It is this tradition which is supposed to be preserved in the curious medals of Alexander Severus, Macrinus, and Philip.



These medals have all the same type, and represent two personages in a sort of chaise without wheels, or ark. This rests upon a rock surrounded by water ; a dove, or some other bird, is seen flying towards the ark with a branch of olive in her mouth, and another bird is perched upon the ark. Two persons are standing in

front of the ark. The name of the city is at full length—ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ. But the strange part is yet untold. In front of the ark are the letters ΝΩΕ! and we must therefore designate the gentleman and lady within the ark by the name of the patriarch and his better half. \*

In the Thesaurus Græc. of Gronovius is a memoir of Octavius Falconerius on these medals, which he attributes to Apamea in Syria, merely because in the Syrian city of Hierapolis there was preserved a shrine as a memorial of the deluge; but to any one at all conversant with medals, such an appropriation must appear perfectly groundless, even if the identity was not placed beyond dispute by the word Kibotos. †

\* The medal of Severus is thus described by Mionnet:

R—ΕΠΙ ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΟΥ, ΑΡΤΕΜΑ. Γ. ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ.

Deucalion and Pyrrha, vus à mi-corps, sortent d'une barque carrée qui flotte sur les eaux; devant, un homme et une femme, la main droite levée; sur la barque, un oiseau; un autre oiseau volant, un rameau au bec; sur la barque, ΝΩΕ. —E.—10½.

† Fauconerius agrees with Tristan in supposing the name of Kibotos has no relation to the *ark*; but given merely from the position of Celænæ, (or Apamea,) *surrounded* by the three rivers, the Marsyas, the Obrimas, and the Orgas, and shut in by them in the form of an ark; but this is not correct, for

“Nevertheless,” says the editor of Calmet’s Dictionary of the Bible, “that this was one of the commemorative notices of the ark and of the deluge, may be admitted, in the sense that traditional shrines or memorials of the ark were very ancient; and that journeying direct from Shinar or Babylon, *here* one of the arks, commemorative of the original ark, rested and settled at once; that is, here was the Arkite worship commenced, before it spread over the neighbouring country.

Kibotos is apparently not a Greek term; and it might be the name of the temple, in which commemoration was made of the ark, and of the preservation of mankind by it.”

It certainly seems that the authors of these medals had a knowledge or commemoration respecting the ark preserved in this city. I doubt not, that many more such commemorations of an event so greatly affecting mankind, were maintained for many ages, though we are now under great difficulties in tracing them. In fact, many cities boasted of such memorials, and referred to

these rivers, even with the more important river, the Meander, which he omits, do not *surround* Apamea at all.

them as proofs of their antiquity and of their settlement in early ages.

Since the foregoing observations were written, a most interesting article has appeared in Fraser's Magazine for March, 1834, entitled, "Noah's Journal of the Ark." The writer has most obligingly permitted me to give an extract, which I am persuaded will interest and instruct my readers as much as it has done me, though the arguments are so convincing as to deprive both Apamea and Armenia of the honour of being the ark's resting-place.

"The most elevated diluvian phenomena hitherto discovered appear to be those on the summit of Mont Blanc, 15,000 feet above the level of the ocean, and at an altitude of 16,000 feet on the Himalayan range, each exceeding three miles; an extraordinary coincidence of level at an interval of 4000 geographical miles.

"These phenomena, if admitted, therefore, directly exclude Mount Ararat, in Armenia, from the Noachic journal; although we have the high authority (traditional though it be) of Berosus the Chaldean, for fixing the scriptural Ararat there. Julius Africanus, however, a very high

authority on such subjects, observes, ‘ the waters having subsided in spring, the ark rested on the mountains of Ararat, which we know to be in Parthia, while others contend for Mount Celænus, or Black Phrygia, both places known to me from having seen them.’ Armenia seems here unthought of.

“ Advancing, in the direction pointed out by Africanus, a little farther eastward, we encounter the Tibetan range, the most elevated region on earth, in which Captain Webb procured fossil bones found embedded in diluvian gravel at an elevation of 16,000 feet, and to this neighbourhood the text of Gen. xi. 2 would seem to direct us for the site of Ararat, in conformity with the general opinion of the philosophers of our age, rather than to Armenia. ‘ And it came to pass, as they journeyed from the east, they found a plain in the land of Shinar, and dwelt there.’ It is clear, that if Noah’s posterity came to the banks of the Euphrates from the east, Armenia, north-west of Babylonia, was not the second cradle of mankind. \*

\* Fraser’s Magazine for March 1834, page 295.

“ The extraordinary fertility of this range and of the intervening table lands, at elevations which, according to all the isothermal tables, ought to be covered with perpetual snow, now directs us to this region as that of all others on the face of the earth where the *olive leaf* might have been obtained at the vast altitudes of the ark’s resting-place.

“ The line of perpetual congelation is here at an elevation of not less than 17,000 feet, or 1,250 feet higher than that on the Andes at the equator; and at 5,500 feet, or more than a mile, higher than it ought to be in this parallel of latitude, according to the tables; while there is a luxuriant vegetation at an elevation of 15,000 feet, more than 2,000 feet higher than the summit of the Armenian Ararat, which is covered with perpetual snow.” \*

After so long and detailed account of Apamea in the times of Paganism, and anterior to Christianity, it is matter of much regret that so little is recorded of the Christian history of Apamea.

Dr. Cramer in his valuable work on Asia

\* Fraser’s Magazine for March 1834, page 296.

Minor, says that “the church of Apamea did not figure amongst the earliest in the province of Phrygia, and infers from this fact, that St. Paul had not visited this part of Phrygia in person, or at least had not continued there long enough to found a church.

Certainly, Apamea is not mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles, as one of the cities honoured by the presence of St. Paul; but recollecting the importance of the place, inferior only to Laodicea and Ephesus, it is very improbable that the apostle should not visit Apamea, when he is said, accompanied by Silas, to have gone “*throughout* Phrygia and the region of Galatia.”

They set out from Lystra and Derbe, whence having taken and circumcised Timothy, “they went through the cities,” that is, those cities where churches were established, and therefore probably Iconium, Antioch, Perga, &c. If this was the probable direction of their journey, it can scarcely be imagined that Apamea should have been neglected, either in the way down from Antioch to Perga, or in returning from Perga northward to visit the cities of Phrygia.

Be this as it may, there is abundance of evidence to prove the existence of a church at Apamea of very early date, though it cannot be directly connected with the times of the apostles.

In Hierocles it is ranked with the episcopal cities of Pisidia, to which it then belonged.

In the year 172, Julianus was bishop of Apamea, and distinguished himself by his endeavours, though unsuccessful, to suppress the heresy of Montanus and Maximilla. Montanus was a native of Ardaban, a town of Mysia bordering on Phrygia, but because the chief sect of the Heresiarch was at the town of Pepuza in Phrygia, it was called the Cata Phrygian, or lower Phrygian heresy.

Apollinarius, bishop of Hierapolis, at the same period, writing against the Montanists, mentions two martyrs, natives of Eumenia, called Caius and Alexander, who suffered in his time at Apamea, situated upon the river Meander.

But the strongest evidence of the early establishment of Christianity at Apamea, are the ruins of the church discovered on the present journey.

This church is constructed of very large blocks of gray marble, without cement, having on many



of the blocks single Greek letters, to guide the workmen to their proper position, and therefore possibly belonging to some earlier edifice.

The length within the great entrance is nearly sixty feet, and the breadth forty-five feet. The breadth of the inner portico fifteen feet ; and at each side of the portico, connected with it by a door-way, is a small inclosed space of fifteen feet square. The outer portico is seventy-five feet wide and fifteen in breadth. This is open in front, and had probably a row of columns, though there are no remains of any ; and as the ground falls in front, there was probably an ascent of some steps.

At the eastern end, for the building stood east and west, is the *Bema*, a semicircle of fifteen feet wide and about nine feet deep.

The inner portico had three doors of entrance into the church, the centre or grand entrance, and a smaller one on either side.

On several of the blocks is the Greek cross, but apparently cut in later times.

Upon many of the tombs on the hill below the church, the cross is also to be seen ; Christian sepulchres of a very early date.

Phrygia suffered severely for the cause of Christ. In the reign of Dioclesian, A.D. 301, we are informed by Lactantius, that so eagerly were the persecutors set upon shedding Christian blood, that one of them in Phrygia burnt a whole people, together with their church, where they were assembled together. “*Aliqui ad occidendum præcipiti extiterunt, sicut unus in Phrygia, qui universum populum cum ipso pariter conventiculo, concremavit.\**”

The names of the bishops of Apamea which have been preserved, besides Julianus mentioned above, are

Theophilus,	Marcus,	Paulus,
Eutysius,	Theopompus,	Sophronius,
Philippus,	Eustratius,	Georgius, 1146.
Callinicus,	Eulampius,	Isaacus, 1166.

As in the course of the present journey frequent mention will be made of the ruins of some of the primitive churches, the accounts will be read with more interest, after the following description, principally from Bingham, on the form of the earliest churches.

Though there was no positive order prescribing the exact form of the primitive churches, for we find the church built by Constantine over the sepulchre of our Lord at Jerusalem, was *round*, and another which he built at Antioch was *octagon*, yet the general form was *oblong*, and resembling that described by Eusebius, as built by Paulinus at Tyre. As this is one of the most ancient and authentic authorities we have, I will follow his description in the form and several parts.

The position. The earlier churches were commonly placed, as in the present day, with the sanctuary, or altar part, towards the east; while the front and chief entrances were towards the west. Occasionally the rule was departed from, but rarely.

Division. They were commonly divided into three parts.

1. The *Narthex*, or anti-temple, where the penitents and catechumens stood.

2. The *Naos*, or temple, where the communicants had their respective places.

3. The *Bema*, or sanctuary, where the clergy stood and officiated at the altar.

But in a larger sense there was another anti-temple or *Narthex* without the walls, under which was comprised the *προπυλον* or vestibulum, the outward porch ; then the *Atrium* or *Area*, the court leading from that to the temple, surrounded with porticoes or cloisters.

There were also several *Exedræ* ; such as the baptistery, the diaconica, the pastaphoria, and other adjacent buildings, which were reckoned to be either without or within the church, according as they were taken in a straiter or a larger acceptation ; for the Christian churches being built with some regard to the Jewish temple, the whole ambitus, or circumference about them was esteemed in a large sense as a part of the church ; and accordingly when churches became asylums, or places of refuge under Christian emperors, not only the inner buildings, but the outer courts and boundaries, were considered a sufficient sanctuary.

*The plan of an ancient church as described by Eusebius and other writers.*

1. The wall, *περιβολον*, which inclosed the whole circumference of the outward courts,

which we may call the anti-temple, or *exterior narthex*, to distinguish it from the narthex within the church.

In front of this sacred enclosure, usually towards the west, at some distance from the church, the first building that presented itself was a great and lofty porch, which Eusebius and other writers call the *προπυλον μεγα*, and the latins *Vestibulum Magnum*, the great porch, to distinguish it from the lesser porches, which joined to the church. He calls it also *πρωτην εισοδον*, the first entrance, to distinguish it from the second, which were the gates of the church.

2. Between this porch and the church was a large area or square piece of ground, called *αυθριον* by Eusebius, but by the Latins *Atrium* and *Impluvium*, because it was a court open to the air, without covering, except on the sides, where were porticoes or cloisters.

Here was the station of the first class of *penitents*,—of those who were not allowed to enter farther into the church, but who stood either in the porch or porticoes, entreating the prayers of the faithful as they went into the church, or, perhaps, if more notorious criminals, they were

compelled to stand in the open air exposed to the weather, and not allowed the shelter of the porticoes.

3. A fountain or cistern of water usually stood in this court or atrium, for the people to wash their faces and hands before they went into the church, a custom borrowed and still retained by the Mahometans.

It was in this court or atrium also that the dead were allowed to be buried ; though positively prohibited within the church itself.

### *The Church.*

1. The entrance into these interior narthex by three *inner gates*, the middle ones being the greatest and highest of the three, as we commonly see in our modern cathedrals.

2. Being entered by these gates into the church, the first place that presents itself to our view is the *πρῶτος* or anti-temple, within the walls. This in the modern Greek church is always called the narthex.

This in the earlier church was the station of those called *audientes*, or *hearers*, because they were allowed to stand here to hear the Psalms

and Scriptures read, and the sermon, after which they were dismissed without any prayers or solemn benediction. Here also the Jew and the heathen, the heretic and schismatic, were allowed to come, but not permitted to enter within the chancel. This narthex was called in Latin *ferula*, a rod or staff, from its being a long, narrow part across the front of the church.

After the narthex followed that part which was properly called *ναος*, the temple, and *navis*, the nave or body of the church. The entrance to it from the narthex was by the gates called *πύλαι ωραιαι* and *βασιλικαι*, the beautiful and royal gates; either as denoting the royal palace of God, or because here the Greek emperors laid down their crowns, before they proceeded farther into the church.

This nave was usually square, and at the bottom, near the entrance of the royal gates, stood a class of penitents, called *υποπιπτοντες*, (or *substrati*) so called from the custom of prostrating themselves before the bishop or priest as soon as the sermon was ended, to receive his benediction with imposition of hands, and be made partakers of those prayers, which the congregation parti-

cularly offered to God for them, after which they were obliged immediately to depart before the communion service.

A little within the entrance of the royal gates stood the *ambo*, which may be either called the reading desk or pulpit, as occasionally used for both, though chiefly for the former. It seems to have resembled the elevated place in the Jewish synagogue, where the law is read at present.

The male and female parts of the congregation had separate stations in the primitive churches; the men being below, or in the body of the nave, while the women were in what are called *υπερωα*, upper rooms, or galleries, as in the present churches of the Greeks and Armenians.

4. The innermost part of the ancient churches was what we now call the chancel; but originally known by many other names, of which the most common was that of *βημα*, *Bema*.

This included not merely the altar, but the whole space where the several services connected with the altar were performed. It was here also we find, even in very early times, the seat or throne of the bishop. It was in fact appropriated only to the clergy, laymen not being



permitted to enter within it. So Eusebius describing this part of the temple of Paulinus, says, it was divided from the rest by certain rails of wood, curiously and artificially wrought into the form of net-work, to make it inaccessible to the multitude.

The modern Greeks call the entrance into this part the *Holy Gates*, because they open from the body of the church, into the Holy of holies. But there is little mention made of these in ancient writers. They, however, often speak of the use of veils or hangings in this place, to conceal the view of the altar.

So early as the time of Athanasius, we have a description of what was contained within the *bema*, when describing a church ravaged by the Arians in the time of Constantius, he says, they took the bishop's throne, the seats of the presbyters, and the *table*, which was of wood, and the veil of the church, and carried them out and burnt them.

The upper end of the *bema*, or chancel, was *semicircular*, and called by some authors Apsis, and Conchela Bematis. For these are words that signify any arched or spherical building like the canopy of heaven.

There has been an old dispute revived of late, about the name of the communion table ; whether it was to be called a *table* or an *altar*. But it is beyond a doubt, that both names were used in the earliest times, and that it was sometimes made of wood, at others of stone.

Of the *Exedraë*, or buildings *without* the church. —The most important was the *baptistery*, described as a distinct building by itself ; which had first its porch or ante-room, where the catechumens made their renunciation of Satan, and confession of faith ; and then its inner room, where the ceremony of baptism was performed. Some ancient writers seem to intimate that there were distinct apartments in it for men and women likewise.

These baptisteries were very capacious, because the stated times of baptism returning but seldom, there were usually great multitudes to be baptized at the same time, and the baptism by *immersion* required a very large fountain or font.\*

\* Bingham's Antiquities.

## CHAPTER XII.

Proposed objects of research, Antioch of Pisidia, and Lystra and Derbe—Sources at Subashi—Probably mistaken by the Consul Manlius for the Obrimas—Silbium—Village of Chatelee—Road to Oloubourlou—Succession of small plains—Benighted in an unknown road—Arrive at Oloubourlou—Quinces called Mordiana—Inscription on the Acropolis of Apollonia—Summoned before the Aga—Remains and Inscriptions—Colony of Greek Christians—Timur Bec and Ibrahim Pasha—The Aga of Oloubourlou and his brothers put to death by the orders of the latter.

THE principal objects proposed in undertaking the present journey were the discovery of the city of Antioch of Pisidia, and the towns of Lystra and Derbe, places possessing so much interest from the labours and sufferings of St. Paul, and yet the very situation of all three wholly unknown in modern geography.

From information repeatedly sought at Smyrna, and a careful research into all the ancient autho-

rities, there was every reason to believe that Antioch would be found at or near a considerable Turkish town, called Gialobatsh ; and as this town lay in an eastern direction from Deenare, and the reputed distance about twenty hours, this agreed very well with the tables, which placed Antioch at the distance of seventy miles from Apamea. The road passed through another city called Apollonia, which was twenty-five miles from Apamea, and forty-five from Antioch.

On inquiring the road from Deenare to Gialobatsh, we were told there were two, but the usual one led through the town of Oloubourlou. We determined to take this route, encouraged by its agreeing in distance with Apollonia, which we had strong hopes of finding at or near Oloubourlou ; and if so, we should be warranted in fixing Antioch at or near Gialobatsh.

It was ten minutes after twelve when we left Deenare, the road leading up the hill (or low mountain, *lophos*) Signia, under the theatre. At one o'clock we had descended by a craggy road into a small plain, the course now south-east. At a quarter before two we were in the plain of

Dombai Ovasi, the plain of *buffaloes*, and the numbers we saw well supported the etymology.

It was here we met a caravan coming from Konia to Smyrna, and among the party a Turkish Hamal\* did me the honour to recollect me. He was in the employ of my excellent and benevolent friend Mr. Lee, and the opportunity was a fortunate one, to convey a message to our families.

It was a quarter past two when we came to Subashi, the copious sources, as reputed, of the Meander and the Marsyas; both of which, after crossing the plain, disappear at the foot of the mountain, and re-issue on the other side; the Meander at Sheik Arab, and the Marsyas, as we have seen, near Deenare.

The sources then at Subashi would be properly called the *first* sources, and this is remarkably confirmed by Cinnamus who describes the town of Silbium, called by him Syblas, as near the *first* sources of the Meander, for so the passage is correctly translated by Dr. Cramer.†

Silbium, or Sylbeum, appears, from Hierocles

\* A Porter.

† *Ἡερὶ πρῶτας πον τοῦ Μαιάνηρον ἰδρυμενον ἐκβολας.*  
p 171.

and the Notitiæ, to have been a bishop's see. If the few remains at Subashi are those of this town, then what is usually called an old khan, is probably the ruin of the church.

But I should be very much disposed to take the sources at Subashi for those which Livy calls the sources of the Obrimas, where he encamped on his march from Sagalassus, near a village called Aporidos Comen. There is great reason to believe that the river of which the sources are near Sandukli, is really the Obrimas; but if the reader will look at the map, and then read the account in Livy, he will see the improbability of the sources at Sandukli being those near which Manlius encamped.

He was on his march from Sagalassus northward, and at the time of his encamping at the sources he was sufficiently near Apamea for Seleucus to come to him in *one* day. Manlius sent to Apamea all his sick people and useless baggage, not of course willing to be *encumbered* further with them. Now if Aporidos and these sources were at Sandukli, or near it, the distance was not only full ten hours from Apamea, more than a day's journey, and more than *two* at the

usual rate of the consul's marches, but he would have acted most absurdly, in passing within a few miles at the back of Apamea, and instead of embracing the opportunity of sending thither his sick and baggage, when so close to it, carrying them ten hours farther, and sending them the same distance back again.

I am not aware of any other sources between Subashi and Sandukli, except at Omai and Ishekli, but both of these are beyond, or to the north of Apamea. Manlius, therefore, or more properly, Livy, in all probability took the sources at Subashi from those of the Obrimas, but the Aporidos Comen would still be at or near Subashi.

This would agree sufficiently well with the distance from the supposed site of Synnada, and better still if Synnada was, as I think it possible, at Affium-kara-hissar—and there is some reason for believing that Metropolis lay at no very great distance eastward from Subashi.\*

But to continue our journey.—The road now

The fountains of the Obrimas were something more than two days' march from Synnada, and not far from Metropolis on the side towards Apamea.—*Colonel Leake's Journal*, p. 154.

lay along the slope of the mountain in a south-east direction, and then descended into a small plain, at the head of which the village of Chatelee, where we arrived at three o'clock. Possibly the town of Silbium was at or near this village; for Cinnamus does not say it was *at* the sources of the Meander, but *near* them.

Thus far we had seen nothing to assure us that we were in the great ancient road from Apamea to Antioch, but now we ascended the mountain steep by a winding, but so ingeniously constructed a road, that the evidence of many of the rocks cut was hardly necessary to prove that it was long anterior to Turkish dominion. A heap of squared stones with a pedestal of great dimensions, at twenty minutes past three, confirmed this opinion, and we had strong hopes that we were in the right road to Antioch.

Having descended a little, we entered another small plain, and at four o'clock came to the head of another, with a course north-east-by-north. These little plains resembled the beds of ancient lakes.

We now entered on another plain connected with the former, of considerable length, and the



rich red soil was so slippery, that it was with difficulty the horses could retain their footing. We hoped that we were approaching the termination of our journey, but such was not our good fortune. Here and there we met a solitary Turk or Euruke; the first would not reply to our questions at all, and the others gave us contradictory accounts of the road and distance to Oloubourlou.

The road now became stony, and led down to the bed of a river, in which, or by the side of it, we rode along in a horrible track, and though favoured with moonlight, not without much apprehension of having lost our road.

At length, the road, still lying along the river side, became wider and better at the junction of another road, which descended the mountains on the left, and crossed the river by a bridge. We rode on in a fertile and well-wooded country, and a house here and there, amidst gardens or vineyards, deceived us into the belief that we had arrived at Oloubourlou.

Such was not our lot: road after road was tried in the hope of its leading to the town, but all abandoned. We were almost in despair,

when the barking of a dog, under a high mountain, induced us to take that direction, for it was an evidence that some human habitation was not far distant. Shortly after, two Turks directed us to the town, where we arrived at seven o'clock, after another half hour of horrible stony road. We were led up the steep and long streets for some time before we could find the khan, where, having fasted since eight in the morning, and heartily tired, we did not find fault with our apartment, though none of the best.

I had repeatedly endeavoured, at Smyrna, to get information from persons living in the neighbourhood of Isbarta, as to the site of any place in that neighbourhood celebrated for a peculiar species of quince; for Apollonia was first called *Mordiaëum*, and celebrated for quinces, called from their excellence *Mordiana*.

Before entering the town we fancied many of the trees, as well as the light would allow us to judge, resembled quinces, but we had not arrived ten minutes in the khan, before Kyriacos entered our apartment with some of the most magnificent quinces I ever beheld, and which differed essentially from others, in being eatable without

dressings. They were a little hard, but the flavour was that of the pine apple.\*

*Monday, Nov. 5.*—We had no positive proof that we were at Apollonia, till this morning, when the door of our apartment opening into the corridor, the first object that met our view was a very lofty acropolis, covering the summit of the steep street just in front of us. We lost little time in going up to it, and found an ancient gateway nearly entire, with remains of massy and high walls on either side.

Immediately above the gateway was an inscription, over which our eyes glanced with much excitement, till they rested upon the words  
 Η ΒΟΥΛΗ ΚΑΙ Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΩΝ.

*The council and people of Apollonia.*

Entering within the gate we found an extensive space inclosed by remains of similar massy walls, except where the nature of the ground made such a defence unnecessary. In fact, the acropolis on most sides was a naked perpendi-

\* Apollonia of Pisidia, *προτερον Μορδαιον*. Athen., lib. 3. p. 81, hæc Apollonia η Μορδιος dicitur appellata, qui optima Cydonia ibi provenisse quondam refert. Τὰ δὲ Μορδιανὰ καλούμενα, γίνεται μὲν κέλ्लιστα ἐν Ἀπολλωνία τῇ Μορδιῷ λεγομένῃ.—*Luc. Holst. Not. Steph. Byzant.*

cular rock, of stupendous height, and the head grew dizzy on leaning over the precipices to look down into the yawning depth below.

We were examining some fragments built into the walls, when Kyriacos, who had remained behind in the khan, came to us with a quick and hurried step, and was the bearer of an unwelcome message from the Aga, who had expressed himself much displeased at our presumption to walk into the citadel,—for, ancient or modern, walled or in ruins, the Turks consider that once a fortress it must always be so—and Kyriacos was ordered to bring us instantly before him.

As we were anxious to see all we could, we thought it best to conciliate him, and went immediately to the conac. The style of the apartment into which we were introduced, and the numerous attendants, seemed to show that he was rather a musselim than an aga; and his personal appearance supported it. He was a very handsome, tall man, of about thirty-five, with that peculiar form of face, characteristic of the better class of Turks, oval, or rather long, black eyes and eyebrows, and thick jet beard. Two persons were sitting near him, who closely

resembled him ; I afterwards learnt they were his brothers.

After the ceremonies of pipes and coffee, our examination began—Where we came from ? whither we were going ? what was our business or motive in coming to Oloubourlou ? and, lastly, why we presumed to walk about the town, and, above all, about the citadel, without his permission ?

In reply, our Tergiman produced the teskeray of the governor of Smyrna. It was hardly noticed, and thrown by ; next, my firman was produced. The Aga read it with great facility, and very soon observed upon it that it was very old—that great changes had taken place since it was issued—alluding, I suppose, to the mention of the Janissaries in it ; and, lastly, that though it gave us liberty to travel by the towns mentioned in it, it gave no permission to enter those that were not mentioned—that Oloubourlou was not mentioned, and therefore the firman could not protect us at Oloubourlou.

We replied, that only the principal places in each direction were mentioned, particularly those at the extreme distances, as Konia and Cæsa-

rea, but the intermediate places omitted ; still it must be clear that it was impossible to go to Konia or Cæsarea without passing through many towns not mentioned in the firman.

“ But,” said the Aga, “ you say you came from Ishekli and Deenare, and are probably going to Konia : now, the regular road is through Isbart, and you have nothing to do at Oloubourlou. I must insist, therefore, on your remaining within your khan till you are ready to depart, and then that you take the proper road by Isbart.

It now occurred to us that we had done wrong in saying we were going to Konia. The victorious army of Ibrahim Pasha was in full advance towards that place, and the population was receiving him every where with open arms. To say we were going to Konia, when the country was in a state of civil war, was to admit that we were going towards the Egyptians ; and the Aga, if a faithful servant of the Sultan, was right in looking on us with suspicion.

Kyriacos was directed to undeceive him, and to assure him, that so far from having any political motives in view, we were travelling for amusement ; and that we did not seek men, but old

stones, and the latter, to become better acquainted with the ancient geography of the country. We entreated permission to examine the antiquities of Oloubourlou, or at least to be allowed to remain the day in the town. The Aga was inflexible, because it was evident he was incredulous, and suspected we had other objects than those we alleged.

It occurred to me, that I had another firman with me, exclusively relating to Ephesus, and which particularly specified the *antiquities* of the place as the object of my research. This was now presented to the Aga ; he read it with attention, and instantly his face was brightened by a smile, and he treated us with as much civility as he had previously done with reserve. We had full permission to go where we pleased, see what we pleased, and stay as long as we pleased.

Alas ! how little did any of us anticipate, at that moment, that within a few weeks only, neither the Aga, his brothers, nor the conac, would be in existence ! But I must reserve the melancholy story for the conclusion of the chapter.

We lost no time in availing ourselves of the Aga's permission, and, attended by a crowd which became more and more dense every step, we walked again towards the castle.

On our way we copied the parts of an inscription of considerable length, and which, had it been perfect, would have been extremely interesting. It will be found in the Appendix.

I am much indebted to Colonel Leake for assisting me in restoring the readings of several inscriptions, but upon this he observes,

“ In this inscription I am unable to discover the order of the lines, which is clearly not as here written down (though the copy was a correct one.) For line *two* of the second column follows line *one* of the third, thus, γεγονέναι Ποπλίῳ Σουλπικίῳ καὶ Γαίῳ Οὐαλγίῳ Ὑπάτοις—Publius Sulpicius Quirinus and Caius Valgius were consuls in the reign of Augustus, in the year 12. B. C.”

The inscription was, however, in the reign of Tiberius, and if it is in too mutilated a state to convey other information, we at least learn from it that Apollonia had a theatre, near a temple dedicated to Apollo; that there was another temple dedicated to Fortune; and an Agora.



Near a fountain was another inscription which will be also given in the Appendix, because though curious, it seems almost impossible to give a satisfactory translation of it. It has an epoch of 247.

It was a task of no small difficulty to copy these inscriptions, the latter especially, from the pressure of the people around us: they were curious but not uncivil, and when some of the boys were disposed to be rather troublesome in their close attendance, they were severely reprimanded by a good old Turk, who was passing with his asses loaded with wood.

We now examined more leisurely, and made a copy of the following inscription over the gateway.

. . . . . Ἦλιαν Αντωνεῖναν γυναῖκα Αὐρηλίου  
 Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ πρωτίστου επιτρόπου τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ  
 ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος Ἀπολλωνιατῶν Λυκίων  
 Θρακῶν Κολώνων τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐτίμησαν ἀνδριάντι.

The council and people of the Apolloniatae Lycii Thraces Coloni, have honoured with a statue Ælia Antonina, the wife of Aurelius Apollonius, chief intendant of the Augustus.

Entering again the gateway of the acropolis, we

were much interested by a small Greek colony, of about three hundred persons, separated altogether from the rest of the Turkish inhabitants. According to their account of themselves, they have from the earliest times occupied their present position, within the walls of the ancient acropolis: they intermarry only among themselves; and have no connexion with any other Christians from without, though of course included within the diocese, and under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Pisidia.

There was something so primitive in their manners and appearance, that we could readily believe their story, and I fancied I saw in them the representatives of the Antioch Christians, who had been driven from that city by the earlier persecutions.

The papas, whom we visited, was a venerable old man, and had been a widower nearly forty years. We copied another inscription in his garden, containing also the ΔΗΜΟΣ ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΙΑΤΩΝ. He accompanied us to the church, an ancient structure, though on the foundation of a much earlier one. Within the *bema* was a large stone font, evidently long disused, as it serves at present to

support the large stone of the altar. Numerous fragments, and mutilated inscriptions are fixed in the outer walls of the edifice. I inquired if any *manuscripts* existed, and the papas gave the usual answer—that many ancient manuscripts had been destroyed not long ago to bind books.

These Greek Christians know nothing of their own language, and they were very thankful when I offered to send them a few Testaments in Turkish, and, if possible, some elementary books for the purpose of establishing a school.

We took another view from the acropolis of the fertile and extensive plain beneath, N. W. and S. E. terminated by the lake of Eyerdir. I was reminded of the view of the plain of the Meander from the site of the ancient city above Guzelhissar; but the elevation of the acropolis of Oloubourlou is considerably greater.

The Turkish population was formerly two thousand houses, reduced at present to one thousand, with three mosques. If we could have remained another day at Oloubourlou, we should probably have discovered the remains of the theatre, temples, &c.; but these are now reserved for a future traveller; and so completely occupied

were our thoughts with Antioch of Pisidia, which we were now certain must be near Gialobatch, that we quitted Oloubourlou with much less regret than we should have otherwise done.

INSCRIPTION IN THE GARDEN OF THE PAPAS.

Τον αγνὸν καὶ δίκαιον ἐπίτροπον τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ  
 Αὐρήλιον Ἀπολλώνιον ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος  
 Ἀπολλωνιατῶν Λυκίων Θρακῶν Κολώνων  
 Τὸν (ἰδιον εὐεργέτην.

The council and people of the Apolloniatae Lycii Thracæ Coloni (have honoured) the virtuous and just intendant of the Augustus Aurelius Appollonius.

This was the husband of the lady mentioned in the former inscription, and a remarkable instance of popular estimation, to be each honoured with a statue.

By these inscriptions it appears that a Thracian colony established themselves in Lycia, and that some of the latter founded this city of Apollonia—for though Lycia extended considerably to the north, perhaps close to Pisidia, we must place our Apollonia in the latter province, as lying in the direct line between Apamea and

Antioch ; and therefore the medals attributed by Mionnet to Apollonia of Lycia, with the legend ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΩΝ . ΛΥΚ . must refer to the parent colony. My friend Mr. Borrell told me that he had frequently seen medals with the legend ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΩΝ . ΛΥΚ . ΘΡΑ . but had been at a loss to which of the numerous towns called Apollonia they should be assigned, till the discovery of the inscriptions at Oloubourlou.

Oloubourlou is frequently mentioned in the history of Tamerlane, by the name of Olouc Bourlough, and shortly after the siege and destruction of Smyrna, he came to Sultanhissar, (the ancient Nysa,) and having there ordered a great number of peasants to be put to the sword, “ The count took the road of Olouc Bourlough, where it was joined by the Mirza Charoc, who was come from his winter quarters. As this place had not yet surrendered, Timur gave orders that it should be attacked. It was taken in a very short time ; and as the Emir Gelalelislam had been slain by an arrow, all the men were put to the sword, and the women carried way captive, after the razing of the place.” \*

\* History of Timur Bec, vol. 2, page 282.

There are so many points of resemblance between the invasion of Tamerlane and that of Ibrahim Pasha, that I shall notice a few of them as introductory to the relation of the tragical death of our friend, the Aga of Oloubourlou.

Timur Bec, better known to English readers by the name of Tamerlane the Great, and “descended,” as says his oriental historian, “from Turk, the son of Japhet, the son of Noah, on whom may salvation rest,” had certainly greater appearance of justice for his invasion of the Ottoman territories in Anatolia, and war against Bajazet, than Ibrahim Pasha, or rather his father, the Pasha of Egypt, could urge for his conduct towards Mahmoud ; and yet the avowed objects of both are well described in the grave language of Cherefeddin Ali.

“Philosophers tell us, that the relation between a king and his kingdom is the same as between the soul and body ; for when the soul and body harmonize in the rules of moderation, the body is in perfect health ; but if the contrary happens, it is attacked with distempers, and at length falls into corruption ; and so when a king

neglects to do justice, his kingdom falls into decay.

“This moral may with justice be applied to the case of the Ottoman emperor and the *sultan of Egypt* ; for these two princes, priding in their power, committed several violent actions, which drew upon them Timur’s anger, and caused the destruction of their country and the desolation of their subjects. Timur, being irritated by their proceedings, though but newly returned from a toilsome campaign, and notwithstanding the great distance of the sultan’s dominions, did not fail of undertaking the conquest of their empires, which, by the grace of God, he brought into subjection ; so that all the cities, towns, and villages of these great countries, were pillaged by his soldiers ; *which calamity was brought upon the poor innocent people through the bad conduct of their princes.*”

Tamerlane, it must be conceded, was not only a man of extraordinary valour and military talent, but in the main, for the age he lived in, a man of principle ; and in addition to the most burning zeal for his religion, even traits of amiable

character occasionally broke forth to lighten the horrors with which his history abounds. He was also a mighty sovereign, not a low-born adventurer, and the superior in rank to his victim, Bajazet, whose inferiority is bitterly thrown out in a letter from the former.

“ The dove, which rises up against the eagle, destroys itself. Shall a petty prince, such as you are, contend with us? Thou, whose true origin terminates in a Turcoman sailor, as every one knows. It would be well, since the ship of thy unfathomable ambition has suffered shipwreck in the abyss of self-love, if thou wouldst lower the sails of thy rashness, and cast the anchor of repentance in the port of sincerity, which is the port of safety : lest, by the tempest of our vengeance you should perish in the sea of the punishment which you merit.”

Bajazet admits his inferiority : “ Since, by the infinite favour of the great ruler of heaven and earth, your highness has been raised to the throne of the empire of Asia, we willingly resolve to be entirely obedient to you ; and if, for the time past, we have acted contrary to our duty, we assure your highness



that we will repair the fault by our zeal in embracing all opportunities of paying our homage and services."

I will not venture to say there is an exact parallel between the invasions of Tamerlane and Ibrahim Pasha, much less that they had equally good grounds for raising the sword against the emperor of the Ottomans; on the contrary, if Tamerlane's letter had been that of Mahmoud to the viceroy of Egypt, it would not have been incorrectly applied; and the answer of Bajazet is very much in the style of the subject's reply to his sovereign, even while his troops were covering the whole of Syria and Anatolia, and displacing and putting to death the governors of Mahmoud, and placing his own creatures in their stead.

I shall have occasion, in a subsequent part of my journal, to revert again to this parallel, but at present I confine myself to showing that the alleged motive of both Tamerlane and Ibrahim Pasha was to redress the "calamities brought upon the poor innocent people through the bad conduct of their princes."

That Tamerlane was really actuated by such a motive there is much reason to believe; how

far the Egyptian can make good his claim to the same, is at least very doubtful : and most persons will see in his invasion only the base ingratitude of a revolted rebel, exciting the passions of the discontented, and, to forward his own selfish and ambitious views, profusely promising redress of all existing grievances, and such a delightful *reform*, that not only should taxation in every shape be no longer heard of, but the too happy Mussulman should have his *chibouque* and *coffee zaph* jump to his mouth without the trouble of even stretching out a finger to take them.

How far these delightful visions have been realized, the present state of Syria, since it has enjoyed the blessings of Egyptian government, abundantly prove ; and the siege sustained by the faithful subjects of Mahmoud at Acre, not less heroic than that in the chivalrous days of our Edward, or the later one of Sir Sidney Smith, convincingly testifies that not the valour of the Egyptian, but his promises “ to relieve the poor innocent people from the bad conduct of their governors,” and not improbably some Egyptian gold, gave him such subsequent facilities in his march through the territories of his master,

and another Timur Bec, perhaps, is quite as ardently desired by the subjects of the “sultan of Egypt,” who *they* may fancy is causing the destruction of the country, and the desolation of *his* subjects.

With these preliminary observations we return to the history of the Aga of Oloubourlou.

The defeat and dispersion of the sultan’s army after the battles of Homs and Beylan removed almost every further obstacle to the advance of Ibrahim through Anatolia to the gates of Konia. If he was not every where received with open arms, it must be admitted he became more and more popular every day. How could it be otherwise? He was at the head of a victorious and powerful army ; he professed to come as the liberator of all the oppressed, and all who supposed themselves oppressed ; and he was the avowed avenger of the janissaries, and opposer of all the sultan’s innovations.

It was therefore no wonder that many a province, town, and village, writhing under the oppression, of but too frequent occurrence, of a musselim or an aga, sent their deputations to this magnanimous and disinterested liberator,

and implored relief, which was as readily accorded by the deposal of the legitimate authorities, and the substitution of his own creatures. But though the punishment was just in too many cases, all were not equally guilty, and in some instances at least the innocent were confounded with the guilty.

Ibrahim had not been long established at Konia, before a deputation arrived from the aga of Isbarta, praying for redress of grievances, and first and foremost, the deposition of the Musselim. Whether he was or was not the oppressor he was represented to be, I presume not to say ; too probably his conduct afforded a fair plea for the application. Isbarta is the chief city of the province of Hamid, and a pashalik, but the governor at this time was a musselim. Ibrahim sent commissioners to inquire into the truth of the allegations, who were not tardy in returning a verdict of guilty against the sultan's representative, who was deposed, his property confiscated, and I am not sure that he was not put to death, while his successor swore fealty to the Egyptian sovereign. The Archbishop of Pisidia, to whom I am indebted for this and the

following accounts, added a number of interesting details, which not having noticed at the time, I am afraid to relate.

Oloubourlou is an agalik dependent on Isbarta, and the Aga is appointed by, and necessarily dependent upon, the governor of Isbarta; it is therefore not surprising that he should be involved in the fate of his superior.

A very few weeks after we quitted Oloubourlou, the reforming committee of that town found out that *their* grievances also were unendurable, and the burden of taxation as enormous as the mountain of their acropolis; though, besides the Aga's decimes (and the Haratch) it would not be easy to say in what it consisted—certainly had there been a tax for lighting and paving the streets, a very fair ground for resistance might have been made out.

However, a deputation went also from the worthy townspeople of Oloubourlou, and our poor friend the Aga was denounced as a tyrant, and Ibrahim sends some municipal commissioners to inquire into and reform the abuses.

These gentlemen, on their arrival, thought it beneath their dignity to call on the Aga at his

conac, but with all the importance of office, they summon him to appear before them. As there are no *corporation records*, or *charters by inspection* to examine in Turkey, their investigations were concise and summary. They summon the Aga, who is bold enough to decline compliance, conceiving perhaps that he owed allegiance only to one sovereign, and that his legitimate one. The commissioners cannot brook that their authority should be disputed. The guilty Aga is again summoned, and again he refuses obedience to the mandate.

These high and mighty redressers of public wrongs, supported by a strong force, repeat their orders at the door of the Aga's conac, the *hotel de ville*, with no better effect. The Aga is ordered to open his doors, and come out. He, with his two brothers, and little garrison, adopt the contrary course, barricading every door and window, and putting themselves in the best possible state to stand a siege: and now the drama draws to its close;—assault upon assault is made upon the conac, but the little citadel is bravely defended, and the besiegers are as often compelled to retreat.

At length, these ministers of municipal justice, the redressers of the wrongs of the "poor innocent people, brought upon them by the bad conduct of their princes," adopt an effectual, though not very legitimate mode of compelling the surrender of the garrison. The conac is set on fire, and being constructed wholly of wood, the fury of the flames leaves no alternative to the brave and unfortunate aga and his brothers, but either to perish in the flames or to sell their lives dearly by rushing upon their assailants. They preferred the latter, and in a short half hour these victims of the *redresser of the people's wrongs* ceased to breathe.

## CHAPTER XIII.

Leave Oloubourlou—Plain of Kara Aslan, the Black Lion—  
 Arrive at Sirgent—Thirst for information in the boys of  
 the village—Ancient vestiges and village of Bourlou, per-  
 haps Metropolis—Quarrel between Milcom and Suleiman—  
 Lake of Egerdir—Village of Jenigelee—Arrive at Gondancee  
 —The Hakim at Gondancee—Road to Yalobatz—First view  
 of Antioch of Pisidia—Ruins of Antioch—Temple of Bac-  
 chus—Primitive Church—Foundations of other temples—  
 Theatre—Semicircular portico—Aqueduct—The Hakim  
 summoned to attend the Aga's brother—Inscriptions.

It was half past two when we left Oloubourlou,  
 (rather, restoring its proper name, Apollonia;) the road passed under precipitous rocks of great height, with numerous tombs in the sides. Looking back, the enormous rock of the acropolis, with fine trees of every kind, and every tint of autumnal colouring, at the base, was a most striking picture.

The road lay in the plain, with the mountain side above on our right; the direction east by



north. The plain, called Kara Aslan Ovasi, the plain of the *Black Lion*, so called from a ruined village near, and that from a celebrated chieftain, can hardly be exceeded in beauty and fertility. The most magnificent trees, forest and fruit trees, were abundant in every direction. At half past three, the road was still along the mountain side, and above the nearest range appear the high-peaked ridges of more distant ones, covered with snow.

It was four o'clock when we arrived at the small town of Sirgent, situated at the foot of the mountain, which rises to a considerable elevation and precipitously, just above it, the summit of an extraordinary form, part of it resembling enormous columns of basalt. We were soon installed in a capital oda, and treated with the kindest attentions by a young lad in the absence of his father, gone, if I mistake not, on a pilgrimage to Mecca ; but the hospitality of the oda suffered nothing from his absence, and our appetites did ample justice to a superb pilau, petmess with opium seeds, and cheese.

Our apartment, as usual, was full of visitors, curious, civil, and attentive. We had numerous

patients too ; many affected with diseases far beyond the reach of our medical skill ; one poor man in particular, whose feet were in such a dreadfully ulcerated state, that the skin had entirely separated from the flesh, the latter of a dark colour, and the nails gone !

Our youthful host, and two or three lads of his own age, amused us by their eagerness for information on all subjects. Our writing especially attracted their admiration, and they tried to imitate it. They would make capital monitors in a school of *mutuel enseignement*, and may the day speedily arrive !

*Tuesday, Nov. 6.*—We rose early, but our patients were earlier ; some had even opened the door, and looking in upon us as we lay in our beds, watched the moment when we should be pleased to open our eyes. Having prescribed for all, we mounted our horses at nine o'clock, and with regret to quit these kind-hearted, simple people.

The road lay along the mountain side, (which was, as before, close on the right,) in the great plain of Kara Aslan, course east by north. The village of Urajak, or Coryjak, lay on the slope

of the low hills which bounded the plain on the left. These hills were strongly contrasted with the mountain range on the right, being low, round, and earthy, while the opposite range was probably in some parts five thousand feet high, naked, rugged, and the peaks covered with snow, like the summits of the Alps.

At a quarter before ten, as we took an oblique direction across the plain, a village embosomed in wood lay on the right at the foot of the mountain. In crossing the plain, our course became north-east by east. In a burial place, at half-past ten, we saw some defaced inscriptions, and one stone had an eagle sculptured on both sides: a village called Bourlou, lay about half an hour on the left, and probably these remains were brought from thence. It is not improbable that this place is on or near the site of the ancient town called Metropolis, and as there was a plain near it, it may have been the plain of Kara Aslan; but I shall have occasion to speak more at length upon this point some time hence. Bourlou is probably the same place mentioned in the march of Tamerlane from Kutaieh to Denizli, under the name of Boulou, or Bouluk, and must have been of some note at that time.

At eleven o'clock the lake of Eyerdir is a conspicuous object in front, a little towards the right. About this time a circumstance occurred which threatened to put a stop to our further journeying.

Having some doubts that we were not in the right road, we reprimanded Milcom for not getting better information from several persons that we had met ; Milcom retorted upon the Surigee Suleiman, and attacked him so furiously for not speaking to these people, that the latter responded with as much vivacity. From words it seemed likely to proceed to blows ; Milcom jumping off his horse, and levelling the but-end of my double-barrelled gun at the head of poor Suleiman, seemed disposed to give him a mortal *coup*, if Suleiman had not drawn his yatagan with as menacing a countenance.

They looked as fierce at each other as Kara Aslan himself could have looked, but the result made good the opinion which the Turks have been said to entertain of the Armenian character, and the lions changed into camels ; that is to say, the combatants proceeded no farther ; but Suleiman not liking, perhaps, to be taken for a camel

would be no longer a bearer of packages, but fairly unloaded his steed, threw every thing on the ground, threatened to return to Smyrna, and fell back a long way in the rear. Milcom quietly loaded his own horse, and in no very civil terms bid him do as he pleased.

I was not exactly of the same mind, and my threat of taking him before the governor on our return, brought the valiant Surigee to a better judgment, and made him quicken his pace.

At a quarter before twelve great part of the lake was visible, having a direction nearly north and south ; a high range of mountains rising immediately from the water's edge, and a small, but long and flat island in it, on which appeared something like a building.

We were subsequently told that Christians inhabit this island, having of course boats to communicate with the land ; and that on the high side of the rocky mountain there are several caves, most probably tombs, which this little christian colony visit with their families in the summer months, for a period of fifteen days. As there are no houses, they probably "*dwell among the tombs ;*" a residence not peculiar to

the shores of the lake of Gennesareth, but of common occurrence in Asia Minor, and particularly in the island of Milo.

Our course at this time was north-east. At twenty minutes past twelve the village of Jenigelee lay on the right, with the lake close by it. A number of little hillocks or heaps of earth were about the village, probably granaries, like those we saw on the road to *Koolah*. At one o'clock some vineyards lay between the road and the lake, and soon after we were close to the latter. The plain is here interrupted, or divided, by a low rocky hill close on the left; we ascended the rocky slope of this hill, the road being still parallel to the lake, which lay a little below on the right. At a quarter past one the hills on the left are covered with *Valonea* oaks, and a species of balsam, or dwarf cedar. Hitherto the plain and mountains had been remarkably barren of wood, a fine clump of walnut trees excepted, which we saw about eleven o'clock, and which had been evidently planted as a shelter for the caravans against a noon day sun.

At two o'clock, being again close to the lake, we dismounted, and remained till half past two.

Mr. Dethier went in pursuit of the wild fowl which were in numbers among the rushes. Kyriacos was more agreeably occupied with a party of young females, washing their clothes at the edge of the lake, whether Turks or Turcomans, Eurukes or gipsies, did not appear; while I was taking the bearings of the lake, which by compass was nearly north-east and south-west; our course being a little north of east. At the opening of the lake, nearly in the direction of the small island, a range of distant mountains raise their blue peaks behind, in a direction nearly east and west.

We are again in the plain. At ten minutes after three at a fountain, and on the opposite side of the hill appeared something like the ruins of a town. This was nearly at the head of the lake. We continued in the plain some time longer, when the country became, though open, of a more undulating character.

It was five o'clock when we arrived at Gondanee, having been directed in the proper road by one of the villagers. An oda was shown us, which, in addition to being already well filled, seemed dangerous to tread on with a heavy foot,

for it was on the first floor, and it was also deficient in an essential article—a door.

We were disposed to put up with the deficiencies, but our Mehmander was not so disposed, and through his energies we were soon placed within another oda which had a door, and regaled with pilau and eggs. Our company was the least respectable-looking we had yet seen, principally young men, and we might as well have been without the protection of the door, as one of them stole the leather straps of my canteen.

We complained to our host, whose physiognomy, though better, was not supported by the wretchedness of his clothing. He expressed great sorrow, declared such a thing had never disgraced his oda before, and after a short absence returned with the stolen goods, explaining that the thief was a soldier, who had lately deserted from the sultan's army.

*Wednesday, Nov. 7.*—The *hakim* was much in request this morning, and one young lad was so grateful for our prescriptions, that he brought us a fine fowl. We tried to convince him that we gave our medicines only from a motive of



humanity, and refused to take the present without paying for it. As he would receive nothing, of course we did not take it, but told him the best return he could make us would be, in case he was cured, to go to the mosque and return thanks to God, the best and only physician.

We left Gondanee at half past eight. A party of Turkish women on foot, escorted by a young lad, were going the same route. At a quarter before nine we passed a stream near a bridge, where some women were washing *en Takmaque* ; the road led through a plain, with fine walnut-trees. Our course east.

At nine a tomb in the rock close on the right, and a quarter of an hour after several others behind a fountain were hailed as auspicious tokens that we were on the road to Antioch, or at least on an ancient Roman road.

From hence, leaving the plain on the left beneath us, we ascended into an open country ; here we were in doubt about the right road ; the larger one, for there were two, apparently leading too much to the south. After remaining some time in uncertainty, a horseman was seen at a considerable distance, and Milcom, putting

his horse at full speed, succeeded, after a long race, in getting up with him. At a quarter past ten a few houses lay on the right.

We had from time to time observed distinct vestiges of an ancient road, parallel to our own, and now about eleven o'clock the plain of Gialobatch, or with Kyriacos's better orthography, Yalobatz, opened beneath us, and on the mountain side, which bounded the plain opposite at the left, we saw considerable remains of an aqueduct. Descending into the plain, we crossed a river flowing from the north, at a quarter past eleven, and having traversed the plain, and met numerous well-constructed carts, drawn by buffaloes, arrived at the town of Yalobatz at a quarter before twelve.

If we had not seen the aqueduct, the quantity of immense squared blocks of stone, and sculptured fragments, which we saw all the way to the khan, would have convinced us at once that we were on the site of a great city. We felt convinced that we had attained the great object of our journey, and were really on the spot consecrated by the labours and persecution of the apostles Paul and Barnabas.

We arrived at the fortunate moment when the kabobji's oven had just been unstopped, and Mr. Dethier paying a visit to the fig bazaar, and Kyriacos to the baker, it fell to my lot to bargain with the kabobji. His kabobs were of goat, and as tough as if contemporaries of St. Paul. The well or cave in which the kabobji kept his provision, dragging it up with a long hook, was not a bad illustration of Hadji Baba, and I expected every moment to see a baked head hooked up from the dark abyss. We dispatched our goat kabobs, and went in search of *Antioch of Pisidia* !

Leaving the town, and going on the north side of it, in the direction of the aqueduct, we were soon upon an elevated plateau, accurately described by Strabo by the name of *λοφος*. The quantity of ancient pottery, independently of the ruins, told us at once that we were upon the emplacement of the city of Antioch. The superb members of a temple, which from the *thyrsus* on many of them, evidently belonged to Bacchus, was the first thing we saw. Passing on, a long and immense building, constructed with prodigious stones, and standing east and

west, made me entertain a hope that it might be a church—a church of Antioch! It was so; the ground plan, with the circular end for the bema all remaining! Willingly would I have remained hours in the midst of a temple—perhaps one of the very earliest consecrated to the Saviour; but we were obliged to hasten on.

The next thing that attracted our notice, were two large magnificent arches, a souterrain running far beneath the hill, and supporting the platform of a superb temple. A high wall of immense stones, without cement, next occurred, part probably of the gate of the city, and near it the ground-plan of another building.

From hence ran a wall, at least its ruins, along towards the aqueduct, crowning the brow of the hill, and abruptly terminating where the hill became so precipitous as to require no defence. The remains of the aqueduct, of which twenty-one arches are perfect, are the most splendid I ever beheld; the stones, without cement, of the same massy dimensions as in the wall.

The view, when near the aqueduct, was enchanting, and well entitled Antioch to its rank

of capital of the province of Pisidia. In the valley on the left groves of poplars and weeping willows seemed to sing the song of the psalmist, "We hanged our harps upon the willows," &c. mourning, as at Babylon, for the melancholy fate of this once great christian city. Not a Christian now resides in it, except a single Greek in the khan. Not a church, nor any priest to officiate, where Paul and Barnabas, and their successors, converted the thousands of idolators to the true faith!

Behind the valley in the east rises a rugged mountain, part of the Paroreia; and in front of the place where I sat is the emplacement of the city, where once stood the synagogue, and the mansions that hospitably received the apostles, and those of their persecutors who drove them from the city—all now levelled to the ground!

Behind the city, in the middle distance, is seen the modern city or town of Yalabatz, the houses intermixed with poplars and other trees, in autumnal colouring, and so numerous as to resemble a grove rather than a city. Beyond is a plain, bounded by the heights of Taurus, under which appeared a lake, probably of Eyerdir.

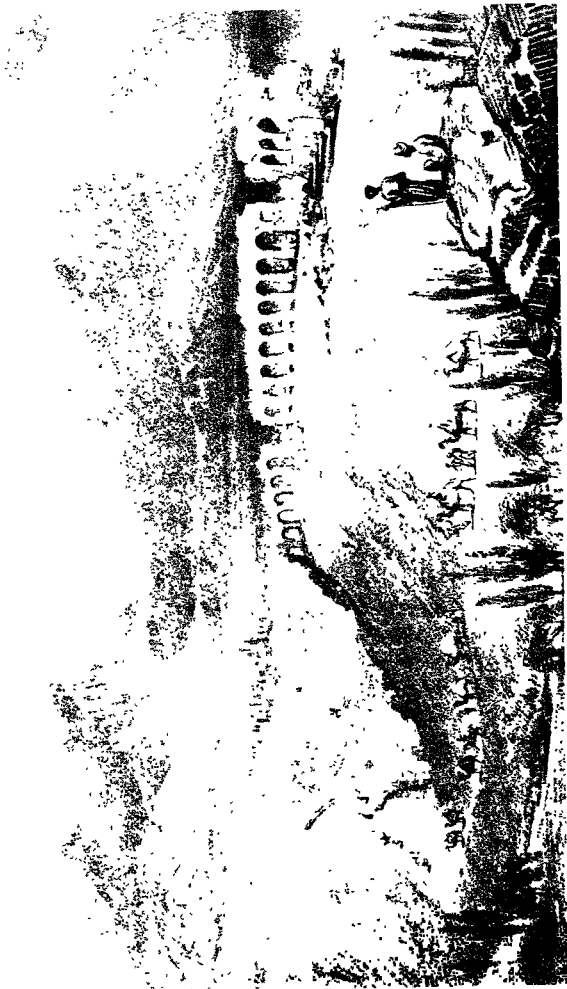


Fig. 1. The Antiochia

Antiochia Picculia

ANTIOCHIA PICCULIA, from the P.A.R.ORIA.

Antiochia Picculia, from the P.A.R.ORIA.



On the right, in the middle distance also, the plain bounded by mountains, and these overtopped by the rugged Alpine peaks of Mount Taurus covered with snow.

In the foreground, the aqueduct, with the plains and groves of Yalabatz appearing through its arches. Behind us rose an amphitheatre of round low hills, backed by mountains, naked and lofty. Reserving a fuller examination for the morrow, we returned to our khan, seeing in our way an inscription on a fountain, which with the others we shall notice hereafter.

My boots, which were no longer in a travelling condition, had the honour to be *racommoded* to day by an old gentleman, who from his venerable white beard might have been boot-mender to St. Paul. The work was not Parisian, but it was strong and effectual, having been completed in about an hour, and the price was not extravagant—sixty paras, about four pence. The commencement of his operations was rather alarming, for the entire boots were plunged into a tub of water, and left there to soak. I thought it was a quarantine precaution against the cholera ; till informed it was his usual practice, to



soften the leather. I preserve these boots as most precious relics.

*Thursday, Nov. 8.*—The aga had done us the honour to call upon us yesterday, while we were examining the ruins ; an honour in part to be accounted for because he was the proprietor of the khan, though the ostensible oda bashi was a Greek. Having returned his visit after breakfast, we went again to the ancient city.

The remains of the temple of Bacchus lay first in our road, with a souterrain under the emplacement. That it was a temple dedicated to that deity is proved not only by the Thyrsus, but by an inscription which we found in the town, in which L. Calpurnius is called

ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣ ΔΙΑ ΒΙΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΚΤΑΤΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ  
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΟΥ.

*High priest for life of the most glorious God  
Bacchus.*

While Mr. Dethier was making a sketch, Kyriacos assisted me in measuring the church of Antioch, one hundred and sixty feet long, without the portico, and eighty feet wide. Perhaps we were standing upon the very spot where

Paul had made his admirable sermon ; for it is very natural to suppose that the oldest church was built upon the site of the synagogue.

To the north of the church, and nearly in a line with it, are the arches of a grand souterrain, and the platform of a very large temple above them ; but nothing more than the ground-plan remains. From hence I went to join Mr. De-thier, while Kyriacos, who had not as much antiquarian mania as ourselves, very wisely perched himself on the top of one of the arches, patiently awaiting our return.

The remains of a theatre lie on the east of the church, on a little ascent. The seats are all removed, and the diameter not exceeding one hundred and fifty feet. Beyond the theatre, ascending still to the east, a little on the left, are vestiges of another church of small size.

Above this are remains of walls on either side, as if the continuation of a street, terminated at the distance of about three hundred feet by the solid rock being cut in a semicircular form and perpendicularly, with square holes all round, as if for beams, about eight feet from the ground.

The breadth of this semicircular area was

about one hundred and sixty feet, and its depth probably as much. But within the circular part near the head, rises an oblong inclosure, hewn also out of the solid rock, though the numerous fragments of fluted columns, and sculptured stones, prove that some building once stood above it, which, though of small dimensions, must have been very magnificent. A sort of well or reservoir occupied the centre of this oblong inclosure, the length of which was about twenty feet, and the breadth thirteen feet. Before the reservoir part and connected with it, was a square platform about twenty-five feet long and twenty-five wide. Outside the reservoir, the rock is cut all round with steps. In front of the whole is a level space, after which the ground falls, and some foundations show there had been an ascent by steps.

The pillars are of white marble, fluted, and three feet in diameter—the capitals Corinthian. On what appeared fragments of the frieze, were a victory, and the caput bovis between garlands—and on another a lion, and a winged animal having a bull's head. I am not an architect, and it would be presuming to decide upon the na-

ture of this curious place ; but if I may hazard a conjecture, may it not be a portico, and of that kind, which from its semicircular shape was called Sigma, because resembling the form of that letter. The sculptures were spirited and in good taste. If, instead of a portico, this edifice was a temple, I should take it to be the temple of Lunus, or Men Arcæus, whose worship was established at Antioch.

About three hundred feet to the south of this portico, was an elevated spot with foundations, perhaps the acropolis. Excavations were going on in every direction, and the workmen were every moment uncovering columns, and foundations. It is therefore extraordinary that so much yet exists above ground.

We now descended by a cemetery to the river, where we were told were numerous inscriptions, but we found none, though the wall which bordered the river all the way, even beyond the town, was composed almost entirely of ancient fragments, and squared blocks.

In the evening I was invited to attend the Aga's brother, in the apartment of the oda bashi, or keeper of the khan. The old gentleman was

not a little of the *malade imaginaire*, and wears, besides a host of interior clothing, four thick pelisses lined with fur.

His figure was therefore not a bad representation of Falstaff, and he resembled him in his tastes and sentiments. He was a lover of wine and rackee, and when I strongly interdicted both, begged hard for an exception in favour of his favourite wine of Cyprus, probably the identical sack of the hero of Shakspeare.

He resembled him in another point. "Will honour set to a leg?" or in the clearer language of Hudibras,

" He that fights and runs away,  
May live to fight another day : "

so our hero of Yalobatz, on the first alarm of any disorder in the town or neighbourhood, from an influenza to the plague, always removed himself to a respectable distance. He was now cogitating on the best way to escape the cholera, which from all accounts was really at Aksher, only six hours from hence, and making dreadful havoc among the inhabitants, and especially in the sultan's army. We gave him and the Aga all the information we possessed about the mode of treatment in case it should reach Yalobatz, of which

there was no doubt, and promised to send them from Smyrna some anti-cholera medicines.

I had not long quitted the apartment of the oda bashi, when a grave white-bearded Turk, the attendant and chibookji, or pipe cleaner, of my patient, came with a tin cup, of no moderate dimensions, to ask for some brandy for his master. We made excuses. He asked for rackee : we had none. Not discouraged, he asked for wine, and when again refused, he consoled himself with requesting the contents of our tea-pot, which we readily gave him.

When I found, by the inscription, and the sculptured thyrsus, that there had been a temple of Bacchus at Antioch, I was no longer surprised that some of his votaries should still remain on the spot, and the partiality of my patient for Dionysian libations was at once explained.

Antioch was one of the numerous cities founded by Antiochus, and deriving its name from him. It is said by Strabo, to have been first inhabited by a colony from the Ionian city of Magnesia, or Magnesia on the Meander. Subsequently, the Romans conferred on them the blessing of what Strabo terms "*liberation*" from their legitimate

sovereign, Antiochus, whom they had defeated and despoiled of his territories : and they were placed by the Romans under the rule of another of their own creation, Eumenes, king of Pergamus.

From the kings of Pergamus, the arrogant ingratitude of the Roman people transferred it to Amyntas, at first a Lycaonian chief, but by the favour of Antony, put into possession of all the territory which had belonged to Dejotarus, tetrarch of Galatia, together with a great part of Pamphylia. On the death of Amyntas, the Romans, to whom it reverted, sent a colony there, and made it the capital of a proconsular government.

According to Ulpian, the colonial rights of Antioch were of the kind called *Jus Italicum*—that is, they enjoyed the same privileges as the Roman citizens at home—Alexandria Troas, and Parium, in Asia Minor, and several cities of Macedonia, enjoyed the same rights.\*

Antioch, though usually called Antioch of Pisidia, properly was situated in Phrygia, and described by Strabo, as “near Pisidia,” not within

\* In Pisidia ejusdem juris est Colonia Antiochensium.

*Ulpian lib. 50. Tit. de Censibus.*

it. Describing the district of the Paroreia, he says, “ Phrygia Paroreia stretches from east to west, following the direction of a chain of mountains, on each side of which we find an extensive plain, with a city near it. On the north is situate Philomelium ; on the other, or south side, lies Antioch, called Antioch near Pisidia ; the former is in the plain, the latter on a hill,” (λοφου.)\*

Antioch has been hitherto considered to occupy the site of the present town of Aksher : such was the opinion of D’Anville, and all the geographers who succeeded him ; and such seems to have been the mistaken opinion of the Latin historians of the Crusades, and even of Anna Comnena.

The Crusaders, after the battle of Dorylæum are said to have marched in a single body, and

\* Ἡ μὲν οὖν Παρωρία, ὄρεινήν τινα ἔχει ράχιν, ἀπὸ τῆς ἀνατολῆς εκτεινομένην, ἐπὶ δύσιν. Ταύτῃ δ’ ἐκάτερωθεν υποπέπτωκε τι πεδίων μέγα, καὶ πόλις πλησίον αὐτῆς, πρὸς ἄρκτον μὲν φιλομήλιον, ἐκ θατέρου δὲ μέρους Ἀντιόχεια ἢ πρὸς Πισιδίαν καλουμένη· ἥ μὲν, ἐν πεδίῳ κειμένη, ἥ δ’ ἐπὶ λόφῳ, ἔχουσα ἀποικίαν Ῥωμαίων· Ταύτην δ’ ὤκισεν Μαγνητὲς οἱ πρὸς Μαϊάνῳρον· Ῥωμαῖοι δ’ ἐλευθέρωσαν τῶν βασιλέων, ἡνίκα τὴν εἰλλήν Ἀσίαν Εὐμενεὶ παρέδωκαν τὴν ἐκτὸς τοῦ Ταύρου·

*Strabo*, lib. 12.



suffered extreme distress, from a want of water in the dry and barren country which they had to traverse, until they arrived at a river which appears to have been at no great distance from Antioch the less, or Antioch of Pisidia. At this city several chieftains, with their followers, separated themselves from the main body, and pursued different routes; the remainder moved forward to Iconium.

Colonel Leake correctly observes that this position of Antioch of Pisidia is at variance with the evidence afforded by Strabo, and the Peutinger table, both which authorities tend to show that it was not exactly on the modern route from Eski sher, (Dorylæum,) to Konia by Bulwudun and Aksher.

At the same time, it is possible that the crusaders were actually at Antioch, for, being long previous to the capture of Constantinople, the name was probably preserved. But the strongest argument in favour of this opinion is, that, supposing they had taken the other road, and mistaken *Ak-sheer* for Antioch, they must have passed *several* rivers and lakes before they reached it; whereas, the line of march was a lit-

tle to the west of Affium kara hissar, and thence down to Yalobatz, little or no water would be met with, especially if in the heat of summer.

Strabo, as we have seen, accurately describes the position of Antioch ; and says, it lay on the south side of the Paroreia, Philomelium being on the opposite, or north side ; that the latter lay in a plain, but Antioch was on a *λοφος*, a hill of small dimensions.

It is evident, says Colonel Leake, how greatly the discovery of Antioch of Pisidia would assist the comparative geography of all the adjacent country ; and the position of Antioch being now fixed at Yalobatz, it necessarily follows that Philomelium was at Aksher.

Colonel Leake supposed Philomelium to have occupied the site of the present village of Ilgun, ten hours from Aksher ; but if he had then known the real situation of Antioch at Yalobatz, he would, no doubt, have assigned to it the proper emplacement at Aksher, for Aksher is exactly *north* from Yalobatz, agreeing with the description of Strabo, whereas Ilgun is east, and the distance between Yalobatz and Aksher is only six hours ;

but between Yalobatz and Ilgun sixteen. Philomelium may, therefore, be decidedly fixed at Aksher, and the lake adjoining it will be the lake of the Forty Martyrs.

The great eastern road, generally travelled by all who went from Ephesus to Cesarea, was, according to Strabo,

Stadia.

From Ephesus to Carura, the boundary of Caria towards Phrygia, through Magnesia and Tralles, Nysa and Antioch.	740
Thence, in Phrygia, by Laodicea, Apamea, Metropolis, and Chelidonia, to Olmi, the beginning of the Paroreia, the distance from Carura . . . . .	920
Thence, to Tyriæum, which is at the frontier of Lycaonia beyond the Paroreia, through Philomelium. . . . .	500

Now, as the road lay as nearly as possible in a straight line from Ephesus to Laodicea and Apamea, there can be no doubt, but it continued in the same straight direction, from Apamea to Philomelium, if not Tyriæum, and so on to Cesarea.

By this extract from Strabo, it is clear, that there was a road from Apamea to the east, besides that which passed through Apollonia and Antioch of Pisidia; and as neither of these places are in the route of Artemidorus, given by Strabo, as well as by its passing through Philomelium, (Aksher,) it must have kept a little to the north of our road by Apollonia and Antioch.

We were told at Ishekli that there was a road to Sirgent from Deenare, without going to Oloubourlou, which, as may be perceived in the map, makes an angle to the south; and this is probably the road we saw on our way to Oloubourlou, as the opposite or northern side of the mountain.

This, then, would be the direct road to Philomelium by Metropolis, Chelidonia and Olmi; and if so, the Roman eagles and inscriptions between Sirgent and Gondanee, in the plain of Kara Aslan, may have been from Bourlou, or some other neighbouring village on the north, anciently the site of Metropolis, and the plain would correspond with the plain of that city.

This position agrees with that assigned to Metropolis, by Dr. Cramer, to the east and not to the north, of Apamea, to the *conventus* of which it belonged. It is supposed to have been near Synnada, merely because Athenæus mentions his having travelled from one town to the other ; but he might have travelled from Ephesus to Cesarea, and yet these cities are more than twenty days' journey from each other. By the *Oriens Christianus* of Lequin, it appears that there were bishops of Metropolis, which is said to be in Pisidia.

It appears from the history of Tamerlane, that there was a direct road from Oloubourlou to Aksher, and this probably was the old line of route, and Metropolis, Chelidonia, and Olmi will probably be found on it. That Yalobatz is not once mentioned in these marches, either by its modern or ancient name, is another evidence.

Till we know what villages or ancient remains lie in the direct line from Aksher to Sirgent, it would be in vain to conjecture on the sites of Chelidonia and Olmi, though perhaps the following extract from the Bishop of Iconium's account of that neighbourhood may have some

reference to the latter. "Six hours from Aksher is Dogan hissar,—not far from thence, a village called Reis, where is a building like a stadium."

Olmi could not have been thirty miles from Aksher, (Philomelium,) if Tyriæum be, as is probable, at Ilgun, ten hours from Aksher; for the entire distance from Olmi to Tyriæum, (not to Philomelium, for the road passed through that town to Tyriæum, which lay beyond it,) was five hundred stadia, sixty-two miles and a half.

If the road passed near Gondanee, and then leaving Yalobatz, (Antioch,) on the right, went up to Aksher, the tombs in the mountain near Gondanee, may indicate the vicinity of Chelidonia, and there is some probability, for at the spot where these tombs are, the road to Antioch leaves the plain, and ascends the high ground, while there is another road by the plain on the left, leading towards the north.

In the table of Peutinger is a great road from Iconium to Side, with a branch-road leading to Antioch of Pisidia. This is now explained—the road from Yalobatz being to Karagatch, six hours, and thence falling into the route

from Isbarta to Iconium, or from Galandos down to Side.

There is also a road from Karagatch to Gondanee, leaving Yalobatz on the right, having, at the distance of five hours from Karagatch, the village of Kieujook, which is six hours from Gondanee.

“We find, attached to this city, Antioch,” says Dr. Cramer, “one of those singular pontifical offices of which we have so many instances in Asia Minor. The worship of Men Arcæus, with which this priesthood was connected, had probably been derived from the Magnesians; it was apparently on a great scale, and extensive estates, and numerous slaves, were annexed to the service of the temple, but the whole was abolished on the death of Amyntas.” \*

I have before suggested that the remains of this temple may be yet existing, and the sculptures on parts of the frieze seem to have some

\* “Ἦν δὲ ενταυθα καὶ ιερωσύνη τὶς Μηνὸς Ἀρκαίου, πλῆθος ἔχουσα ιεροδούλων, καὶ χωρίων ιερῶν· κατελύθη δὲ μετὰ τὴν Ἀμύντου τελευτὴν ὑπὸ τῶν πεμφθέντων ἐπὶ τὴν ἐκείνου κληρονομίαν.—Strabo. lib. 12.

reference to the type of one of the medals of Antioch, as described by Mionnet.

Lunus debout, appuyé sur une colonne ; le pied droit posé sur une tête de bœuf, tenant dans la main droite la haste, et dans la gauche une victoire posée sur un globe ; à ses pieds, un coq.

Other medals have also the god Lunus, with the legend COL. MEN. ANTIOCH ; and in some, MENSIS. COL. CAES. ANTIOCH.

This temple seems to be referred to in the following inscription on a fountain :

L. FLAVIO. L. F.  
SER. CRISTINO  
SACERDOTI. IOVI  
DEC. L. FLAVIVS. L. F.  
SER. LONGVS. PATER  
D. D. H. C.

Lucio Flavio Lucii filio  
Sergiâ \* Cristino, sacerdoti Jovis,  
Decurio Lucius Flavius, Lucii filius,  
Sergiâ, † Longus, pater, dedicavit  
Honoris causâ.

\* A Roman tribe.

† Priscus Longus was proconsul of Lycia and Pamphylia.



L. FLAVIO. PAULO

SER. DEC. A. EIDOVAES

CVRATORI. ARCAESAN

CTVAR. L. L. FLAVIVS. L. F. SER.

LONGVS. FRATRI. SVO. OB.

MERITA. EIVS. D. D.

H. C.

Lucio Flavio Paulo Sergiâ  
 Decurioni Antiochiæ, curatori  
 Arcæ sanctuarii, Lucius Flavius  
 Lucii filius Sergiâ Longus fratri  
 Suo ob merita ejus dedicavit  
 honoris causâ.

Strabo, when speaking of Cabira, (in the twelfth book,) where the same worship was established, says, that the god is called by the different names of Lunus, Men, and at Antioch of Pisidia, Men Arcæus; and that the service of the temple was held in the highest veneration. It had the privilege of a sanctuary, respecting the nature and abuses of which see *Tacitus*, book iii. 60.

*On a Pedestal in the town of Yalobatz.*

Λούκιον Καλπούρνιον Ρηγειανόν, τὸν λαμπρότατον  
 συγκλητικόν, υἱὸν Καλπουρνίου Ρηγειανοῦ ποῦ λαμπροτάτου  
 ὑπατικοῦ Οὐλπίου Τατιανὸς Μάρκελλος ἐνανερικὸς ἀρχιερεὺς  
 διὰ βίον τοῦ ἐπιφανεστάτου θεοῦ Λιονύσου.

“Ulpus Tatianus Marcellus, joint arch-priest for life of the most illustrious god Bacchus, (has honoured) Lucius Calpurnius Reginianus, the excellent counsellor, son of the excellent consular Calpurnius Reginianus.”

The name of Lucius Calpurnius, and Lucius Quintus Calpurnius, occur on several imperfect inscriptions, at the house of the Aga's brother, and in other places.

Calpurnius Asprenetus was pro-prætor of Galatia and Pamphylia, in the reign of Galba.

It is probable that the predecessors of these “joint arch-priests of the most illustrious god Bacchus,” if not Tatianus Marcellus himself, were of the number of those who heard the words of life from the joint priests of the Most High God.

They may, as at Lystra, have called Barnabas, Jupiter, and Paul, Mercurius, because he

was the chief speaker ; and they may also have brought oxen and garlands into the gates, and have offered to do sacrifice with the people. And the apostle would doubtless have rent their clothes, and ran in among the people, crying out, “Sirs, why do you these things? We also are men of like passions with you, and preach unto you that ye should turn from these vanities unto the living God.”

How delightful to suppose that these arch-priests may have been of the Gentiles who besought that the word of the Lord might be preached unto them ; and hearing it, were glad, and glorified God ; and believing, were ordained to eternal life ! And Tatianus Marcellus may have been, like his namesake Tatianus, an eminent apologist for the christian faith.

*On a Pedestal in the Town.*

TI. CLVDIO

PAVLINO

PHILOSO

PHO. HERO

“To Titus Claudius Paulinus, the heroic philosopher.”

Cludius is probably a mistake of the stone-cutter for Claudius, or Clodius.

*In the Garden of the Aga's Brother.*

Πετρωνία (φίλινα) Κοίντω Νο(ουίω) Μαρκιανῶ  
 ἀντὶ γλυκυτάτῳ μνημῆς χάριν· ὃς ἂν ἐξ  
 ἀδικήσῃ τὴν στήλην, ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν·

Petronia Philina (has erected this monument to Quintus (Novius) Marcianus, her beloved husband, for a memorial. Whosoever shall injure the pillar, let him answer for it to the God."

I would willingly have supposed this to be a christian inscription, and have translated πρὸς τὸν Θεόν, "to God," instead of "to the God;" but the anxiety for the preservation of the monumental column is evidence that Marcianus was a heathen.

The christian needs not to have his name engraven on marble to live in the recollection of his friends; Petronea, had she been blessed with the light of Christianity, would have needed no other consolation than to know that his name,

“ a new name, ’ would be written on a white stone above.

Dr. Cramer supposes that Antioch is mentioned by Cedrenus in the reign of Basilius ; but it was not Antioch of Pisidia, but Antioch in Syria, or Antioch the Greater, which Cedrenus means when he speaks, as he often does, of the “ Duke of Antioch.”

The river at Yalobatz is called on the medals of Antioch, *Antihos*, or *Anthos*--

ANTILOS . ANTIOCH . COL. Fleuve imberbe couché, and

ANTHOS . ANTIOCH . COL. Fleuve couché, &c.

## CHAPTER XIV.

Feelings excited by visiting places consecrated by the labours or sufferings of our Saviour or the Apostles—Antioch of Pisidia highly interesting to the Gentile world, because there first the message of the gospel was addressed to them publicly—Sketch of the mission of Paul and Barnabas—St. Paul's discourse in the Synagogue at Antioch—Their expulsion from the city—Description of the ruins of the church of Antioch—List of the bishops—Distinction between the cities of the name of Antioch, founded by the king of Syria.

IF it be a law of our nature, says my valued friend and fellow-traveller, the Rev. John Hartley, that localities distinguished by important events, invite and rivet our attention, and allure the traveller from the most distant regions, such feelings may be expected to arrive at their utmost pitch of excitement, in the contemplation of places where God himself has signally and supernaturally displayed his power.

Each spot trodden by an apostle must be regarded by Christians with some of those feelings of solemn and serious delight, which they cannot describe, which none but themselves can understand. At the place where a martyr died, or where his corpse was interred, the most languid believer may be expected to form new resolutions of devotedness to his Divine Master, and consecrate himself to new fidelity, in following those who through the *faith* of suffering, and the *patience* of martyrdom, *inherited the promises*.

And cold indeed must be the heart of that man, who is capable of the least approximation to insensibility, whilst visiting the memorable places where the Saviour of sinners was born or educated ; where he taught, acted, and, above all, suffered. Who would willingly possess the eye which refused to weep on Mount Calvary ; or claim the heart which could not glow where our Redeemer ascended from earth to heaven ?

Such were my friend's reflections as he approached the city of Corinth. Parnassus, Helicon, Cithæron passed successively before his eye, but he was under the influence of more elevated recollections than this celebrated classical scenery

presented. "I remembered," said he, "that I was now treading on ground which had received the footsteps of the great apostle of the Gentiles; that it was here St. Paul 'determined to know nothing amongst men, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified.'

I remember, and always shall remember, with strong emotion the feelings which were excited within both our bosoms as we wandered among the ruins of Laodicea, and Colossæ, and Sardis, and, above all, Ephesus; as we ascended the vast excavation of the theatre, once re-echoing with the shouts of twenty thousand voices, 'Great is Diana of the Ephesians!' and as we passed over the spot consecrated by the interment of St. John and Timothy.

The discovery of Antioch of Pisidia, was a principal but unattained object of our first journey. How much I wished that my friend Hartley could have shared with me the excitement of its actual discovery.

If the Syrian Antioch had the high privilege of being the spot where the disciples of Jesus were first denominated by the name of their master, Antioch of Pisidia stands almost as promi-



nently distinguished, as the place where, the Jews having rejected the offer of salvation, the glad tidings and privileges of the gospel were offered to the Gentile world,—I may say *first* offered, for though the family of Cornelius, and the proconsul of Cyprus, are instances of Gentile conversions, previous to the arrival of Paul and Barnabas at Antioch, yet we read of no other place in which the gospel is offered to the acceptance of the Gentiles after its rejection by the Jews.

It was at the church of Antioch in Syria that the two apostles Paul and Barnabas were honoured with their appointment to their great mission, by the immediate revelation of the Holy Spirit, “Separate to me Barnabas and Paul, for the” extraordinary “work of preaching the gospel among the Gentiles, to which I have now expressly called them :” and who could be better associated with the Great Apostle, to carry the cheering message, than he whose name and character designated him the “*Son of Consolation?*”

Their first visit was to the native island of Barnabas, and they preached in the synagogues of Cyprus; addressing their invitation, as became

them, first to the Jews. It does not appear that the gospel was preached out of the synagogues, or offered elsewhere to the Gentiles, but it was at the express request of Sergius Paulus, the proconsul, or rather deputy of the proconsul of Cilicia, that they preached to him the word of God.

No doubt the synagogue at Perga also was the chief, if not exclusive place of their ministrations, though in that city so celebrated, like another Ephesus, for its worship of Diana, there might be, and doubtless were, many converts among the Gentiles. But it was reserved for Antioch of Pisidia to bear the distinguished honour of being the place where, the Jews rejecting their message, they first entered fully into the objects of the great mission for which they had been separated by the Holy Ghost.

On their arrival in the city, they went into the Jewish synagogue, it being the sabbath day, and sat down among those that were worshipping there. And after the customary reading of the proper section for the day, out of the law, and another out of the prophets, the rulers of the synagogue, knowing in general the public character which these two celebrated strangers sustained, and being curious to hear from their own mouth that

new doctrine which had made so much noise in other places, sent one of the inferior officers to them, saying, "Men and brethren, if you have any word of exhortation to the people," or any declaration to make which may conduce to the edification of the assembly, speak freely, as this is the proper season of doing it.

Then Paul stood up, and waving his hand, to render the audience more attentive, addressed to the assembly that admirable discourse, which is enough of itself to immortalize the city in which it was delivered; as perhaps the most perfect summary of the history and doctrines of the Old and New Testament, which exists in the inspired writings.

The apostle most judiciously addresses his audience in the twofold character of "Men of Israel," and "Ye that fear God;" and Dr. Doddridge observes, that "this discourse seems chiefly intended to illustrate the divine economy in opening the gospel gradually, and preparing the Jews, by temporal mercies, for others of a yet more important nature. The apostle, in consequence of this, had a very excellent opportunity of showing his acquaintance with their Scriptures, which it is well known they esteemed

as the highest part of literature and object of science.

The expression, "Ye that fear God," is ambiguous, and would best suit those that had, by embracing the Jewish religion, entered into covenant with the true God, yet so as not to exclude any others in whom a filial reverence for the divine Being (arising from the light of nature) was a governing principle.

After a brief sketch of the history of the Jewish church, down to the testimony borne by John to the character of Jesus Christ, throughout which the most important events have the valuable addition of dates, the apostle again divides his hearers into those who are of the family of Abraham, and all others who truly fear God and serve him, of whatever family or nation they may have been descended, and "to you both," meaning, doubtless, both Jew and Gentile, "is the word of this salvation sent."

The remainder of the discourse contains the relation of our Lord's death, and that great pillar of a Christian's faith, and upon which all his hopes for consolation here and for future happiness rest, the fact of his resurrection. This is

proved by the evidence of eye-witnesses, and by the fulfilment of prophecy—and the latter, by an argument only to be found in this address.

The Jews, tenacious as they were of their scriptures, would readily admit the correctness of the quotation from the Psalm, “Thou wilt not suffer thine Holy One to see corruption,” and the sepulchre of David which had been opened, and found to contain only dust, was irresistible evidence that *he* had seen corruption. But God’s solemn assertion was, that his “Holy One should not see corruption,” and Paul’s conclusion was unanswerable, that it applied only to him, of whom God says, “Thou art my Son, this day have I begotten thee.”

Having established this great fact, the apostle then announces the glad tidings of the gospel, the doctrines of forgiveness of sins and justification by faith. “Be it known unto you, therefore, men and brethren, that through this man is preached unto you the forgiveness of sins ; and by him all that believe are justified from all things, from which ye could not be justified by the law of Moses.”

He concludes with a most solemn entreaty

that they would receive his message, as its rejection would be attended with most fatal consequences to their souls.

This was the substance of Paul's plain and serious address to the Jews in their synagogue, to which they replied nothing at present. "But while the Jews were going out of the synagogue, the Gentiles, who out of curiosity were many of them assembled there on the fame of the arrival of such celebrated men, earnestly desired that these words might be spoken to them again the following sabbath, when they promised to attend themselves, and to bring as many of their friends as they could.

"When the synagogue was broken up, *many* of the Jews, and of the devout proselytes, who, though not of the stock of Israel, had embraced the Jewish religion, followed Paul and Barnabas, professing their belief of the doctrine they taught; who gave them farther exhortation to confirm them in the faith, and speaking to them with great earnestness, persuaded them to continue in the grace of God, which they had received, and to retain that gospel which they had now embraced.

“ And on the following sabbath, almost the whole city was gathered together to hear the word of God,” in consequence of the report which the Gentiles had spread abroad of what had been delivered before, which awakened in many others an earnest desire of attending at the repetition of their extraordinary message which the apostles had engaged themselves to make.

“ But the Jews, who continued strongly prejudiced against the message which had been delivered to them, seeing the Gentiles assembled in such multitudes, ‘ were filled with envy, and spake against those things which were spoken by Paul, contradicting and blaspheming ’ these divine teachers as impostors and seducers.

“ Then Paul and Barnabas, perceiving that no good impression could be made upon them, with great freedom of speech, and with a fervent zeal tempered by wisdom, and animated by unfeigned charity, said, It was necessary, according to the instructions of our divine Master, that the word of God should first be spoken to you Jews ; for, undeserving as you are of such a favour, he has directed us that wherever we come, we should open our ministry with an address to

you, inviting you to faith and repentance, that *you* may, in the *first* place, partake of the benefits of his kingdom.

“But since you thus disdainfully thrust it away from you, and by that very action do in effect adjudge and condemn yourselves as unworthy of that eternal life and glory which, through the riches of his grace, he has so freely offered to you, behold, we turn ourselves to the Gentiles, and declare to them that they are also invited into the church of the Messiah, and shall, upon their believing in him, be admitted to all the privileges of his people as readily as if they had been descended from Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, or had been trained up in the worship of the true God, and were by circumcision entered most expressly into covenant with him. To them we will carry the saving name of the Messiah, and we doubt not but they will thankfully accept that gospel which you so ungratefully despise and reject.

“And when the Gentiles heard these things, that the way now was open for their admission into covenant with God, and that they were welcomed to the benefits of the Messiah’s king-



dom, they rejoiced greatly at the happy tidings, and glorified the word of the Lord, and many embraced the gospel.

“These new converts joined their most zealous and affectionate labours with those of Paul and Barnabas to propagate it, and the word of the Lord was borne on, as with a mighty torrent, throughout all that region, which by this means was watered as with a river of salvation.

“But the Jews, provoked beyond all patience at such a conduct and at such success, stirred up some devout women of considerable rank, who having been proselyted to their religion, were peculiarly zealous for it, and also applied themselves to the magistrates of the city, representing these new preachers as excitors of sedition and innovators of religion, who might occasion danger to the state; and thus they raised a persecution against Paul and Barnabas, and drove them out of their territories with violence and infamy.

“But the disciples who were left there were filled with great joy that so blessed a message had reached their hearts; and as Paul and Barnabas had laid their hands upon them, they were

furnished with an abundant communication of the gifts, as well as graces of the Holy Spirit, whereby they were not only confirmed in the faith which they had newly embraced, but were also rendered capable of carrying on the interests of Christianity in that place, when the first planters of their church could no longer continue to cultivate and water it."

Such is the substance of that most important and interesting chapter of the 13th of the Acts of the Apostles.

The apostles, as they left the city, shook off the dust of their feet, in obedience to the command of the Lord, in token of the certain ruin which should befall such despisers of his gospel: "Whosoever shall not receive you, nor hear your words, when you depart out of that house or city, shake off the dust of your feet. Verily I say unto you, It shall be more tolerable for the land of Sodom and Gomorrha in the day of judgment, than for that city."

Perhaps among the "devout and honourable women" were not only Jewish proselytes, but some of the principal votaries of the various deities whose temples existed at Antioch. By

the inscriptions which we found, Jupiter, Bacchus, and Men Arcæus, are proved to have had temples, and the latter was held in the highest degree of veneration.

It is more than probable, that while at Perga, “the worshippers of the great goddess Diana” might have raised their voices against the new doctrines of Paul and Barnabas, and they may have influenced the Antiochians against them, or at least such of the city as were votaries of the god, Men Arcæus, which was another name for Lunus, or the moon, and therefore naturally connected with the goddess at Perga.

#### THE CHURCH OF ANTIOCH.

We have already seen that the remains of two, if not more churches, still exist at Antioch ; of these, the larger is an edifice of very early date, and built probably even before the empire became christian. Its form and dimensions have been mentioned before, as one hundred and sixty feet long, and eighty feet wide. The bema, or place of the altar, is semicircular, and measured within about forty feet in breadth,

and twenty in depth. There were three doors at the western end, of which the centre one was about fifteen feet wide, and the two others ten feet. There were also two other doors of entrance on the north side, the first about seventy feet from the eastern end, and the other thirty feet below it. From the encumbered state of the south wall it is difficult to say if there were any entrances on that side.

In the nave remain yet some large foundation stones running in a line from each end of the bema down to the western doors, which seem to have supported columns to divide the body of the church into a nave and two side aisles; or the columns might have served to support the *υπερωα*, or latticed galleries for the females.

Beyond the great western entrance, the north and south walls are prolonged about fifty-five feet, forming the portico. The walls are composed of immense blocks of marble, like those employed in the construction of the ancient temples of paganism.

In the *Oriens Christianus* of Lequin we have the following list of bishops who presided over the church of Antioch of Pisidia.

*Eudoxius*—Eustochius, an idolator, was baptised and ordained priest by Eudoxius, and died a martyr at Lystra with Gainas.

*Optatus*—By whom Aedesius, a pagan priest, the relative of Justina, was converted to Christianity, and subsequently ordained presbyter.

*Anthemius*—Either by him or Optatus, Justina is made a deaconess.

*Cyprianus*--Nothing more is known than the name.

*Sergianus*—His name is among those who signed at the council of Ancyra, held before the council of Nice, about the year 314.

*Antonius*—Among the Isaurian bishops at the council of Nice.

*Optimus*—Eusebius says that he was first bishop of Andagamia in Phrygia, and thence translated to Antioch of Pisidia. He, in conjunction with other eminent prelates, was delegated by the synod to re-establish the churches which had been devastated by the factions of the Arians.

*Tranquillinus*—His signature is the first at the council of Ephesus, when Cyril of Alexandria was summoned before it.

*Erectheus*—Lived in the time of Proclus, patriarch of Constantinople, before whom he preached a sermon, the substance of which was “Negat duas esse naturas illius qui natus est.”

*Candidianus*—Sat in the council of Constantinople which condemned the heresy of Eutyches—and in the council of Chalcedon, 449.

*Pergamus*—Was also at the council of Chalcedon—Leo the Emperor wrote him de nece Proterii Alexandrini.

*Joannes*—Sat in the synod at Constantinople, at which the patriarch Mennas presided, and subsequently when the heresy of Severus of Antioch was condemned.

*Polydectus*—Subscribes the acts of the synod of Constantinople respecting the ordination of Epiphanius, addressed to Pope Hormesda.

*Bacchus*—Anno 536 subscribes at the synod over which Mennas the patriarch presided.

*Theodorus*—Subscribed the profession of faith made in the church of St. Euphemia.

*Stephanus*—Subscribed the canons of the synod of Trullana, and the acts of the sixth general council.

*Georgius*—Subscribed the seventh general council. The Greeks keep his feast on the 18th or 19th of April—and the account of him in their Martyrology is that having the misfortune to live in the days when, by the instigation of the devil, war was proclaimed against the images of saints, the Emperor Leo, the Armenian, ordered him before him, and endeavoured to make him renounce the worship of those holy images, but being unable to prevail upon him, he condemned him to perpetual exile, in which he died.

*Basilus*—Subscribed the eighth general synod.

*Gregorius.*

*Zacharius*—Named in the acts of the synod of Photion, under Pope John VIII.

*Theophylactes.*

*Macarius.*

*Eleutherius*—In the eleventh century, Robert being king of France, Macarius visiting Palestine is recommended to Eleutherius, Bishop of Antioch.

*Michael*—Subscribed the synod under the Emperor John Comnenus, Leo Stypiotes being patriarch, for condemning the horrible heresy

of the Bogosmilori, defended by the writings of Constantine Chrysomelus—and in 1147 subscribed the sentence of deposition of Cosmas Atticus, the patriarch, for having put to death a certain heretic called Nipho.

*Macarius*—Lived in the reign of the Emperor Paleologus, who had deposed the patriarch Arsenius, on the charge of having read the service of the church with the Sultan of Iconium, and of having sat at table with that prince. Macarius testified to the fact, that both the sultan and his family were Christians, having been baptised and admitted to the holy communion by him. Notwithstanding which, he shares in the fortunes of the patriarch, and is condemned to banishment.

*Martin*—Crusius relates, that among the names of Greek prelates which Stephanus Gerlachius says he met with, is ο Πισιδίας και εξαρχος Σιδης, Μυρρων και Ατταλειας. And says Crusius, in these three places of the exarchate, there are but few Christians, &c.—*Turco-Gr. lib. 7. p. 506.*

*Methodius*—He with six other Metropolitans subscribed the protest of the eastern church, against the errors of the church of Calvin, by



which I suppose is intended the reformed churches generally.

*Cosmas*—There was a titular bishop of this name as late as 1741.

It has been suggested to me by a friend,\* that the mention of the city of Antioch occurs so frequently in the Acts of the Apostles, and especially in the eleventh, thirteenth and fourteenth chapters, that many may perhaps be led to suppose there was but one city of that name; and that, therefore, it would be useful to give a distinct account of the greater or Syrian Antioch, in order to distinguish it from our city of Antioch of Pisidia.

There were several cities of this name, but only two are mentioned in Scripture, Antioch which was the capital of Syria, and another Antioch, called Antioch of Pisidia.

Antioch in Syria was formerly called *Riblath*. But it was not known under the name of Antioch till after the reign of Seleucus Nicanor, who built it, and called it Antioch, from respect to his father Antiochus, 301 before the christian æra.

\* Mr. Brockedon, the talented author of “The Passes of the Alps,” &c.

The kings of Syria, successors to Alexander the Great, generally resided at Antioch. There the disciples of Jesus Christ were first called Christians. Acts xi. 26.

This city, which was formerly so beautiful, so flourishing, and so illustrious, is scarcely any thing at present but a heap of ruins; the city walls are still standing, but within the city there is nothing but ruins, gardens, and some bad houses. The river Orontes runs near the city on the outside of it. The Bishop of Antioch has the title of patriarch, and constantly has had a great share in the affairs of the eastern church.

Antioch was almost square; had many gates, and much of it on the north side stood on a high mountain. It was adorned with galleries and fine fountains. Ammianus Marcellinus says, lib. 4. 22, that it was celebrated throughout the world, and that no city exceeded it, either in fertility of soil, or richness of commerce. The Emperors Vespasian and Titus, and others, granted very great privileges to it; but it has likewise been exposed to very great revolutions.

It was almost demolished by earthquakes in the years A. D. 340, 394, 396, 458, 526 and 528.

The Emperor Justinian repaired it A. D. 529, and called it, says Evagrius, *Theopolis*, or the City of God. Chosroes, king of Persia, took it, A. D. 548, massacred the inhabitants and burnt it. Justinian ordered it to be rebuilt, A. D. 552. Chosroes took it a second time, A. D. 574, in the reign of Justin, and destroyed the walls.

A. D. 588 it suffered a dreadful earthquake, whereby above 60,000 persons perished ; it was again rebuilt, and again was exposed to new calamities. The Saracens took it A. D. 637 or 638, in the reign of Heraclius ; Nicephorus Phocas retook it A. D. 966. Cedrenus relates, that A. D. 970 an army of 100,000 Saracens besieged it without success, but that afterwards they subdued it, added new fortifications to it, and made it almost impregnable.

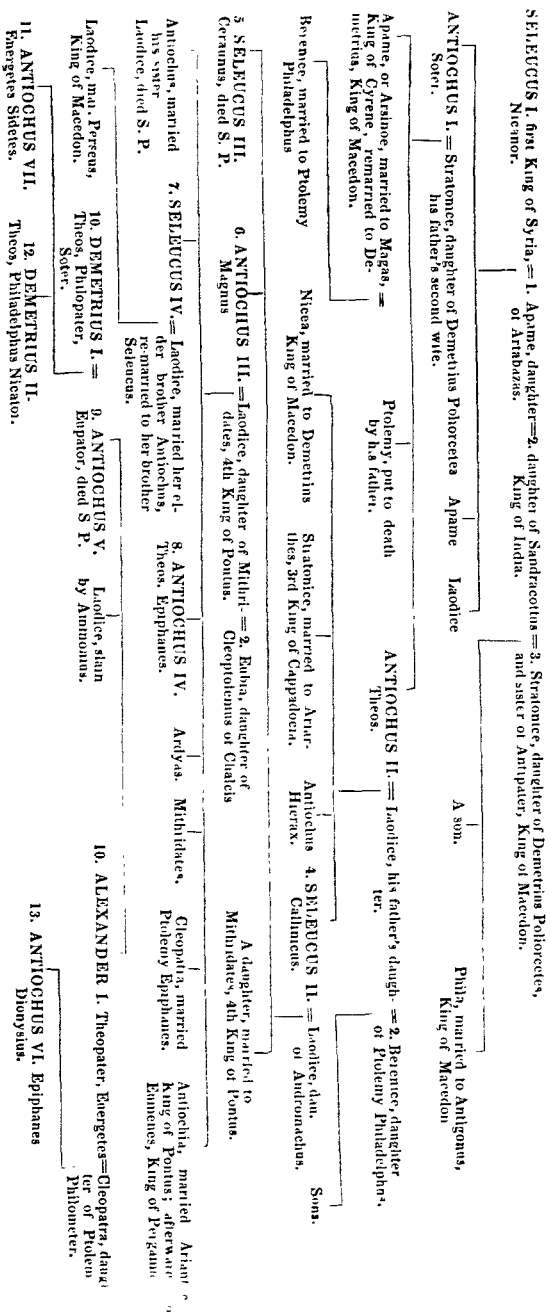
Godfrey of Bouillon, when he attempted the conquest of the Holy Land, besieged it A. D. 1097. The siege was long and bloody ; the Christians, by their indefatigable labours, and by a secret correspondence in the place, carried it, on Thursday June 23rd, A. D. 1098. This city being frequently attacked by the Saracens, was taken May 29, A. D. 1268, under the sultan of Egypt,

who demolished it. It has ever since lost its reputation and magnificence, and has groaned under the dominion of the Turk.

Antioch abounded with great men, and the church in the city was long governed by illustrious prelates ; but it suffered much on several occasions, sometimes being exposed to the violence of heresies, and at other times being rent by deplorable schisms. It was near Antioch, at the passage of Bylan Boghaz, that the Turkish army was defeated by the Egyptians under Ibrahim Pasha, and in two days after, that is, on the 1st of August 1832, Antioch surrendered to him.

# GENEALOGY OF THE SELEUCIDÆ,

*From "Coins of the Seleucidae, kings of Syria, in the Cabinet of Matthew Duane."*



Besides the greater Antioch, or Antioch in Syria, and many cities of the same and other names, the following cities in Asia Minor were founded by the Antiochian family :

Antioch, of Pisidia ; Antioch, on the Meander ; Antioch, near Mount Cragus ; Antioch, near the river Pyramus.—By Seleucus Nicanor, the first king of Syria, and named after his father Antiochus.

Apamea, in Phrygia ; Apamea, in Bithynia.—Founded by Antiochus Soter, and called after his mother Apame, daughter of Artabazas, who married Seleucus Nicanor.

Laodicea, on the Lycus ; Laodicea, called Combusta.—Named from Laodice, wife of Antiochus Theos, son of Antiochus Soter, and Stratonice, daughter of Demetrius Poliorcetes.

There were several other cities called from the same family, as Seleucia, Antigone, Berenice, &c.

## CHAPTER XV.

Reflections on quitting Yalobatz—Ancient vestiges near Eyerclere—Village of Balee—Arrive at the town of Galandos—The bazaar at Afshar—The cholera at Galandos—Its effect upon Kyriacos—Account of his family—Abandon the intention of going to Konia, and the search for Lystra and Derbe—Lake of Eyerdir—Horrible pass of Demir Capi, “the Iron Gate,” by the side of the lake—Arrive at the town of Eyerdir—Saracenic remains at Eyerdir—Siege of the town and islands near it, by Tamerlane—Conjectures on the ancient name of the lake and town—Road to Isbarta—Village of Phindos, and ancient vestiges—Arrival at Isbarta—Extract from former journey.

*Friday, Nov. 9.*—When Paul and Barnabas were in Antioch, almost the whole city came together to hear the word of God! Alas! how great the change! neither Jew nor Christian now to hear the word. We could do nothing, therefore, upon the spot where these great apostles laboured, and preached, and suffered, but

give medicines for the bodily maladies of the present inhabitants, and pray that the light of the gospel of Christ might soon again shine on the poor benighted city, favoured otherwise with all the bounties of nature !

While our horses were loading we walked about the town, and copied several of the inscriptions which have been mentioned before. We saw repeatedly a victory in bas relief, but of so bad a style, as probably to be as low as Arcadius, or later. Other bas reliefs are about the town, but none equal to those near the circular portico. We left the town at ten o'clock with the *ouralas* and good wishes of all about us, and rode through beautiful gardens and a delightful road, blessed with all the comforts of health and security. The apostles were chased from the same spot eighteen hundred years ago, and wandered amidst insults and privations of every kind ; and yet they came with the most blessed boon that could be offered to the acceptance of man.

Literally may they have shook off the dust of their feet, for even now, the roads abound with it, and in the summer months it must be a plain of dust !



Our course was south-west by south, over a well cultivated plain. At eleven o'clock a burial-ground on the right, and all the way from Yalobatz the plain was bordered on the right, at a short distance, with poplar and other trees. At twenty minutes after eleven we came to a village. At a quarter before twelve the river of Yalobatz, called the Eyerclere Chay, was on the right, flowing down to the south. In another half hour we crossed this river by a bridge, and leaving the plain entered a ravine with the village of Eyerclere on the left.

Above it rises a mountain with a platform apparently cut in the rock, as if for a temple. We passed through the village and a burial-ground, in which are several fragments of marble. Here we re-crossed the river by a bridge, and entered a narrow gorge between high rocky precipitous mountains. It is very probable that one of the smaller Pisidian towns stood near this.

At half-past twelve we passed through the village of Kiouinek, or Tutinek, near which a very large and wide vein of a blackish green soapy mineral, (a species of *steatite*.) The road now lay through a cultivated valley, the river on the

left, enlarged by the addition of another stream. Course as before, south-west-by-south.

At one o'clock, the hills on the right clothed with valonea oaks, while those on the left have trees resembling those at Ishekli, probably the balsam tree, or dwarf cedars. At ten minutes before two we came to the village of Balee ;— and to the town of Galandos at twenty minutes after two, having had the river on our left all the way. At the entrance of the town is a good bridge over a dry bed.

It was the bazaar day at the village of Afshar, and the apartments of the khan were so completely engaged by Greek and other shopkeepers, who were expected to return in the evening, that we gladly accepted the offer of a kind tailor, who left his shop-board, and put us in possession of his chamber.

There was so little to see at Galandos that we walked to the bazaar at Afshar, said to be only half an hour, but more than double that distance. It lies in a plain, and is a considerable village with two mosques ; and there is another more considerable village, Jenigee, on the slope of the moun-

tain near it. The bazaar was ended, and we returned without entering the village.

On our way thither, we had a view of the lake of Eyerdir, lying at a short distance to the south of the plain. We returned to Galandos with improved appetites for our dinner, but we presently heard news that made us feel less keen.

The dreaded and malignant cholera was actually in the town ; it had been brought, or had travelled, from Aksher three days ago—several persons had already fallen victims to it yesterday and to day, and some after an illness of only *two* hours. It was committing dreadful devastation in the village of Balee, through which we had passed, but in ignorance of its being there.

We could not but consider it as providential, that we took our walk to the bazaar, and had been detained so long. Had we spent the afternoon at Galandos, we should have been wandering about the town, and been exposed to the contagion. As it was, we adopted the prudent course of shutting ourselves close up in our apartment, and going to bed early to avoid the night miasma.

Poor Kyriacos lost all his *kief*, he was no longer Φαιδρος, “the gay;” the Greek chaunt was no longer heard, nor his imitation of Mr. Dethier’s French songs : not a word escaped his lips from the time he entered the apartment—not a sound the whole night, but a deep sigh or a deeper groan.

Our poor friend was dreadfully alarmed, and more deeply affected, for within the preceding twelve months the destroying messenger of Heaven had fearfully visited his own family.

His mother was first attacked, and speedily in her grave—the father, who had been seized about the same time with his wife, was at the time of her death in a hopeless state—the medical men could not be prevailed upon to visit him. I came to Smyrna from the country, where we had retired for safety, and feeling much for my poor friend Kyriacos, went to Dr. Clarke, to entreat he would visit him.

Before I reached Dr. Clarke’s door I met a younger brother of Kyriacos, quite palsied by fear and anxiety, who had been endeavouring to prevail on the doctors to come, but without success ; and he was on his way to me to entreat

my influence. I asked for his father—" *Very, very ill, but it is my brother, my brother, sir, who has been attacked to day.*"

Dr. Clarke benevolently consented to go with me, but he would not allow me to enter the house. On coming down into the street again, his report was, "The father is better, and may recover, but the son is past recovery!" This was a fine young man, a few years younger than Kyriacos. The same day he was a corpse, and in another week the father also!

*Saturday, Nov. 10.*—We rose at a very early hour, intending to leave the infected atmosphere as soon as possible, and to avoid further contact with the people of the town; but the moment our door was opened, a numerous deputation of the principal Turks filled our apartment, requesting medical advice for the cholera. We were detained, and willingly, in the hope of being useful to these poor people.

Sir Henry Willock, late chargé d'affaires in Persia, had given me the mode of treatment which had been very successfully employed by Dr. M'Cormick and Dr. M'Neill, physicians to the mission, when the cholera was raging at Tiflis.

Fortunately I had the paper with me, and though laudanum was not to be had, yet as there were both opium and rackee in abundance, I have sanguine hopes that we may have been useful.

Though there are no Christians resident at Yalobatz, yet some of the Greek shopkeepers, who were at the bazaar yesterday, attend also the bazaar day at Yalobatz ; I therefore commissioned my friend, the tailor, to give some little books to such of them as could read modern Greek, and promised a supply of others in Turkish.

Galandos has several hundred houses, all Turkish ; and two mosques. It lies on the great caravan road from Isbarta to Konia. When at Yalobatz, as well as at this place, we were very strongly tempted to go on to Konia, only twenty-four caravan hours from either place, a journey which, by travelling post, might be accomplished in one day.

To me it was more an object of desire than to my friend Dethier ; for I hoped, at Konia, to get such information as would enable me to add Lystra and Derbe to Antioch of Pisidia. But my friends reasoned more prudently ; and urging the advanced time of the year, and the certainty that the rainy season must soon commence and

might prevent our return to Smyrna for the winter, I with an ill grace abandoned my castle building.

We were not at all aware at this time, that the army of Ibrahim Pasha had advanced so near us; and had we gone on to Konia, we should have entered the city on the very same day he took possession of it.

It was half past eight when we left Galandos, and very near the town we found the following imperfect inscription.

*Αὐρηλίου Αὐ . . . . ανων*

*τοῖς διαδόχοις*

*Αυρηλία Τατια . . .*

*Δημητρίου σύ (μβιος)*

To the heirs of Aurelius . . .

Aurelia Tatia . . . .

Partner of Demetrius.

Perhaps one of the smaller Pisidian towns stood at or near Galandos.

After riding over the plain with the mountain near the left, parallel with the road, we came at ten o'clock opposite that part of the lake of Eyerdir, in which lies the small island which we had

seen on our way to Yalobatz. This island seemed to be about six hours distant on our right; our course having been, and continuing to be, almost west, the variation a little to the south. At a quarter past ten, we were only separated from the lake by a rushy marais, and at a quarter before eleven we were close to it; the mountain range on the left being still near the road.

In another half hour we came to an ancient edifice, probably erected by the Seljukian Sultans. It is constructed with good squared stones, with a handsome gate, and a circular arch. Within, is a sort of small portico, beyond which is a space divided like a church into a nave, and two side aisles, having five pointed arches on each side. Within this, and in continuation of it, is a similar place, having also five arches on both sides. Over the doorway within, is an inscription in Cufic characters.

The ruined building in the plain of Dombai Ovasi, close to Subashi, resembles it, and as that is called the old khan, I thought that probably this might have been erected also for the passing caravans, or the sultan's troops. But from what I afterwards saw at Eyerdir, a building precisely



similar, and which is still used as a mosque, perhaps both were built for religious worship. We crossed a small river close to this place, and at twelve o'clock came to a cafinet or guard-house.

Here, quitting the plain and level road, we ascended by one of the most horrible and perilous roads imaginable. It was a path not exceeding five or six feet in width, paved with stones worn smooth, and upon which the horses could scarcely keep their footing. The lake on the right, a tremendous precipice, from which one false step would have dashed our horses hundreds of feet beneath into the water, while on the left rose a high mountain as perpendicularly as if shaped by art.

It was as dangerous as the worst passes of the Alps, without their protection of railing or parapet. It was necessary to lead our horses to keep them from falling—a hazardous task, as had either of them lost his footing, and fallen over, he would probably have carried with him the person holding the bridle. We were half an hour in this perilous situation, or nearly so, before we came into a safer path, leaving the lake





Large Hagia Lath<sup>2</sup> to the King Gate, St. Isaac, Jan. 1866

MAKIE of B. G. E. R. D. Y. R.  
Pass of Demir Capı "The Iron Gate"

*Published by R. Bentley London, 1836*

On Stone by J. Hagia

at some little distance on the right. At thirty-five minutes after twelve, we crossed a considerable stream flowing down from the mountain, in another season a cataract.

Nothing can well exceed the beauty and grandeur of the scenery in which we were now riding. Vineyards on the right stretching down to the lake; forest and fruit trees of every species; a singularly formed high peaked mountain before us, at the head (or opposite side) of the lake, and a mountain of great height and jagged outline on the left.

After a succession, unceasing, of ascents and descents, over a most craggy road, along the almost precipitous side of the high mountains, covered with ilex, valonea and juniper bushes on the left, with the lake immediately beneath on the right, we descended to a little enchanting spot near the lake, at a little before two, and remained to refresh ourselves and the horses.

The view of the lake of Eyerdir is indiscribably beautiful, and may compare with any of the celebrated lakes in Italy. A small island, well wooded with poplars and other trees, was in front of our resting place; behind at a short

distance rises a mountain, which from its height, and form, and steepness, might well be supposed to be the site of Cremna, if we had not subsequently better reasons for placing it elsewhere. On either side rose more distant ridges, peaked, and beautifully coloured.

We remounted our horses at a quarter before three, and soon passed a village on the left on the slope of the hill. As we ascended the side of the mountain, there were *two* islands visible, if not a *third* nearest to the land, with many houses.

At twenty minutes before four, leaving the lake, the road passes behind an intervening hill; here we saw numerous families of Turcomans or Eurukes at work in the open air. They were weaving carpets, and the simple looms fixed on the ground, with two or three females at each, among the black tents, and the herds of cattle, was a picture of patriarchal days.

At twenty minutes after four we descended again into the plain, and rode along by the head of the lake, or its western end. At a quarter past five we crossed, by a bridge, a large river, the river, no doubt, of which Colonel Leake

speaks, who calls it the emissary of the Lake of Eyerdir, and that it runs into the Duden Sou. It was too dark to observe if this river really runs out of the lake or into it; but if the former, as represented in all the maps, it never can fall into the Duden Sou, for the Aksou (the Cestrus) flows between it and the Duden Sou. It is even possible that it may not join either, but the Kapri Sou, if the source called the Sav Sou, mentioned to me by the Archbishop of Pisidia, as lying not very far from it, be the source, or one of the sources, of the Eurymedon. No other river issues out of this lake, and we observed but one stream, besides the Eyerclare Chay, which ran into it; it is therefore supplied probably by some subterranean source.

It was now dark; the lights of a town appeared in the distance, in the direction of the supposed island. The road now led along the side of the lake in that direction, and by day must be beautiful, wooded with magnificent trees down close to the edge of the lake, above which the road was elevated. The lights seemed to approach and recede for a long time; at length, about a quarter before six, we arrived

at the town of Eyerdir, surprised to find it identified with the supposed island we had before seen.

*Sunday, Nov. 11.*—We intended to set off very early, but as usual failed in the performance. It was the account of an old castle of which we heard last night, that detained us. Having breakfasted, we went in pursuit of it.

Near the khan is what may be called the *place*, or square of the town, having a handsome gate on the lower side, with one of those fountains which has a room adjoining, with grated windows, for the gratuitous distribution of water. On the right, a mosque, and on the opposite side another, now in ruins.

All these buildings—the gate, the fountain, and the mosques—are of richly ornamented Saracenic architecture; the mosque on the left especially has a gate of extreme beauty, covered with ornaments, and an inscription in Cufic running all around it. On either side the door are two columns, and a niche or recess with a pointed arch.

The disposition of the edifice within resembles that we saw yesterday, having, like a church,

a nave and side aisles, with pointed arches, supported by pillars, the capitals of which are the very prototypes of what are seen in our oldest churches. Two had birds with extended wings; others with grotesque figures, and one with leaves. There was a great deal of Mosaic work, principally of green glass.

Passing from thence, we went into the bazaar, for it was the bazaar day, and became soon the great objects of attraction for all the people. In the corn market we remarked a peculiar species of barley, black and white, that is, about an equal quantity of each colour mixed together; the black—black as jet. I thought it was an accidental disease, but found the grain within perfectly sound and good.

In approaching the castle, we passed over what had once been a drawbridge, and then by a door covered with thick plates of iron, into the first court, thence by another doorway, secured by a heavy iron grating, to the outer gate. Here we ascended to the top of the building, more and more interested at every step. There were many lofty round towers; that on which we stood had many culverins, all of which had



burst in firing. This castle was probably erected also by the Seljukian sultans.

The view from the summit of the round towers was lovely. The two islands lay at a short distance, retaining their ancient Greek names of *νησοι*; the first, or nearest, belonging to a private Turkish proprietor; the second having a mixed population of Turks and Greeks; the latter, composed partly of natives, who speak only Turkish, and partly of Greeks from Cyprus. The lake was in full beauty, and the mountains surrounding it, of every height and form, some capped with snow, formed an inimitably superb picture.

Returning to the khan, we made some inquiries about the possibility of going direct to Sagalassus, (Aglason,) without passing by Isbarta. We were told there was a road, but among the mountains, and of the most perilous description. My object was to discover the site of Selge, which could not be far out of the line between Eyerdir and Aglason; but we could hear of no ruins in that direction.

It was ten o'clock before we left Eyerdir; the road lay along the lake by the mountain side,

the remarkable mountain, of immense height and extraordinary form, which we had remarked on our road from Galandos. Some of the antiquaries of the town assured us there was another castle on the very summit of this mountain, built with large stones. It would have required much labour, and more time than we could afford, to have ascertained the fact, but it is highly probable.\*

\* Paul Lucas, in going from Isbarta to Eyerdir, passed over a plain for six hours; then ascended a small mountain, which, on the right, had over it another “*fort haute et tres escarpée.*” Behind the smaller, and by the side of the highest, was a lake, which, says he, we coasted by a very narrow road; not without constant apprehension. On the right we had the mountain, “*dont les rochers font horreur; à gauche étoient des précipices affreux, le chemin qui est à la moitié de la montagne se trouve immédiatement au dessus du lac de la hauteur des tours de Notre-Dame. Ce lieu a été autrefois quelque passage considerable; le chemin y a été manifestement taillé dans le roc, car le rocher est absolument impracticable, et aussi roide qu’une muraille. Il y a même encore une porte bâtie de grosses pierres de taille; les batans en sont de bois revêtu de fer; mais le tems les a bien rongez. A un quart d’heure de là est Igridi, (Eyerdir.)*” This describes so exactly the horrible pass between Galandos and Eyerdir, that we should have thought he had transposed the order of his journal, if he had not said it was a quarter of an hour only from Eyerdir. There is therefore probably

Fine cedars were growing on the mountain steep; and near the town is an hexagonal or octagonal edifice, probably a mausoleum of one of the Seljukian family, for there can be little doubt that from the beauty of the site of Eyerdir, and the numerous Saracenic edifices within it, it must have been the occasional residence of the sultans of Iconium. But its important position at the head of the lake, and the impregnable acropolis on the mountain behind it, give it a much higher antiquity—perhaps it was the Limes-nopolis of the Notitiæ.

The modern name of Eyerdir, or Egredir, is very probably a corruption of Acrioteri. Martinieri says there was a lake of that name in Phrygia, on the frontier of Pisidia, but errone-

another pass which we did not see, in approaching Eyerdir for Isbarta. After passing Eyerdir, Lucas kept along the side of the lake some way, and then the road lay among the mountains. At the distance of fourteen hours from Eyerdir, he arrived at the large village of Belgers. Two hours beyond this, he passes along the side of *another lake*, Ghioul Bey Cheri, (Bey Sher,) of two hundred miles circumference. Therefore, either his road from Eyerdir is not the same as ours from Galandos, for he says nothing of the tremendous pass by the side of the lake, or, what is more probable, the order of his journal has been transposed.

ously supposes it to be the salt lake Tatta. The word *Acrioteri* correctly describes the extraordinary rock, said to have a fortress on its summit, at the back of Eyerdir.

Dr. Cramer supposes the city of *Lysinia* to have stood at Eyerdir, instead of *Bourdour*, and certainly this seems supported in some degree by the march of the Consul *Manlius*; and if so, the emissary of the lake would be the river *Lysinoe*. This is, however, nothing more than conjecture.

*Lucas* calculates the lake of Eyerdir at one hundred miles in circuit, and it cannot be much less. I should have been much disposed to call it the lake *Trogitis*, for the lake of *Bey Sher* seems decidedly *Caralitis*, as the name *Karali* is still preserved, and the comparative size agrees very well with *Strabo's* account, the lake of *Bey Sher* being much larger than that of Eyerdir.

The Bishop of *Iconium*, *Cyril*, calls *Bey Sher* *Caralitis*, but *Sidi Sher*, *Trogitis*; the latter is, however, much too small; and it is not probable that a lake of the dimensions of Eyerdir should be left wholly unnoticed.

Whatever may have been its ancient name, I

think there is much reason to believe it to be the lake called by the Byzantine historians Pasgusa ; the only objection being the distance from Iconium, as the lake Pasgusa was supposed to be so near that city, that the inhabitants were able to go thither and return in one day. This certainly cannot be done from Eyerdir ; but there may have been some mistake in placing it so near.

In other respects the following account, for which I am indebted to Dr. Cramer, correctly describes the lake of Eyerdir : “ Nicetas, who calls it Pasgusa, says it contained several islands, the inhabitants of which were Christians, but supposed to be ill-affected to the Greeks, on account of their vicinity to the Turks of Iconium. The emperor, John Commenus, determined, in consequence, to get rid of them ; but, as they refused to submit, he was obliged to besiege their islands by means of boats and bridges. This proved a work of great difficulty, especially on account of some storms which raised the waters of the lake, and destroyed several of the besiegers ; the emperor was obliged, therefore, to give up the enterprize, and *return into Isau-*

*ria, which at that time comprised Pamphylia.*—*Nicet. Ann.* p. 25. A.

Cinnamus supplies some further information, in which the narrative of Nicetas is deficient. He calls the lake Pasgusa, and says it was of very great extent. The islands in it had fortifications raised on them in former times, which added to their natural strength. The emperor Commenus, being then at war with the Turks, and in the vicinity, apparently, of Iconium, hearing that the enemy were besieging Sozopolis, a town of Pisidia, determined to march to the relief of that place, but on his way he heard that the enemy had retreated.

Finding himself then at liberty in this quarter, he resolved on expelling the inhabitants of the islands on the lake Pasgusa, especially when he learnt that they were able to go from thence to Iconium, and return the same day.

He goes on then to describe the siege, and its difficulties; but he asserts that the Greek emperor at last succeeded in his undertaking. (pp. 12, 13.) Elsewhere the same writer speaks of a lake Pungusa, formerly called Sclerus, which was in some plains not far from Iconium apparently,

which the emperor Manuel Commenus passed, on his retreat from that city.\*

Now this lake was evidently on the *western* side of Iconium, and from its size must have been either Bey Sher, or the lake of Eyerdir. Bey Sher is a salt lake, which it seems the lake Pasgusa was not. Bey Sher has no islands upon it, at least none are known to exist there.

The town Sozopolis lay probably south-west from Eyerdir; the emperor would therefore take it in his way, after having marched towards Sozopolis. The emperor John Commenus was obliged to retire into Isauria, then comprising Pamphylia; that is to say, he went south from Eyerdir.

There are two islands on the lake of Eyerdir, near the town, called by the general name *νησοι*, (islands,) evidence of the Greeks having inhabited them; and, as we shall hereafter see, called by the Turks Ghulistan and Nasibine. There is also another island which lies higher up, and which appears to have had fortifications on it, and which is inhabited by Christians.

The following account of the siege of Eyerdir,

\* Cramer's Asia Minor, vol. ii. p. 76.

and these islands, is a farther evidence of the identity of the lake with that called Pasgusa. It is from the Persian historian of Tamerlane.

In the province of Hamid-Eli is a lake of sweet water, five leagues in length, and four in breadth, into which several rivers fall, and go out again by other passages; and round it are kitchen gardens, orchards, and cultivated lands. On the banks of the lake stands a town named Egridur, built of free-stone; three of its sides are surrounded by the lake, and the fourth by the mountain. This lake is named Falac Abad by some historians.

Near the town, in the midst of the lake, are two isles; one named Ghulistan, and the other Nasibine; in the latter, which is exceedingly large, is built a fortress, with houses and gardens. The people of the neighbouring places had conveyed thither their money and best effects, and abundance of soldiers were got into it, who had laid up stores of all sorts of ammunition, believing themselves safe, because of the lake which surrounds the place. Timur, informed of all this, conceived it would redound to his honour to conquer this place; whereupon he ordered



the baggage to be conducted by the road of Akcheher.

Timur departed from Oulouc Bourlough, and in two days and one night arrived at Egridur the 17th of Rezeb 805, in the morning. Next day the Mirzas and Emirs marched towards the walls of the town; some ascended the mountain, while others attacked the gate by the foot of the mountain. They gave assaults on all sides, and soon made themselves masters of the town, which they entered in a furious manner, and put most of the inhabitants to the sword, a few only escaping to Nasibine in boats.

Then Timur caused floats to be made of the skins of oxen and horses, on which the Mirzas and Emirs crossed over to attack Nasibine, which they surrounded, ordering the drums to be beat, and the great cry made. The inhabitants were surprised, not imagining they could have been besieged by water.

The governor, Cheik Baba, perceiving he was unable to defend himself, went out, and besought the Mirzas to intercede for him. They brought him to Timur, before whom he kissed the ground, submissively begging pardon and quarter. Timur

ordered that he and his family should follow the army. Thus Nasibine was taken by our troops, who brought to the camp all the riches they could find, which Timur distributed among them.

But this victory was damped by the news which was brought to Tamerlane while at Oloubourlou, of the dangerous illness of his grandson the Mirza Mohamed Sultan ; and he had scarcely quitted the town and began the march for Akcheher, when news came also of the illness, and shortly after the death, of Bajazet—an event which the Persian historian introduces with the following reflection : “ The world is so inconstant, that we may rather look upon it as a continued destruction, than an agreeable habitation, since there is nothing of a certain duration but God.” \*

\* By the account of Nicetas, the emperor John Commenus passed down through Phrygia to Attalia, that he might oblige the cities and villages in *that neighbourhood* to return to their allegiance ; for already several of them had submitted to the Turks, and among other places, the lake called Pasgusa. The Christian inhabitants of the islands of this lake are said to associate much with the Iconian Turks by means of their boats and small vessels. It is difficult to understand how they could be conveyed in this way by land to Iconium, if the town itself be meant.

Our course was nearly west, that is, west-by-south. At eleven we observed a defaced inscription on a broken column ; and half an hour

Commenus describes the lake as of extraordinary length and breadth, and that the islands had fortresses upon them, erected in ancient times ;—and his words certainly may be translated, that those who go to Iconium can return to their islands the same day.

But supposing Bey Sher to be Pasgusa instead of Eyerdir, for one of them it must be, the nearest part of that lake is not less distant from Iconium than thirty-five miles, and twice that distance, seventy miles, is very much beyond any rate of travelling in those or the present times, for a day's journey.

I should be inclined to consider the Iconian Turks spoken of by Nieetas to be the inhabitants of the town of Eyerdir, the extensive Saracenic remains within which are evidence that it was under the sultans of Iconium, and probably their occasional residence ; and the day's journey of Cinnamus may be only to and from the town of Eyerdir ; for though Ghulistan and Nasibine were at no great distance, yet the other island which we saw, with the remains of a fortress on it, lies a considerable way from the town.

Du Fresne, in his notes on the history of Cinnamus, supposes Pasgusa to be the lake Eyerdir :—" Ex descriptione Pasgusæ paludis, quam hic exhibit Cinnamaus conjicere eandem esse Pasgusam cum Carali, cui inedicatum hodie oppidum, Acrioteri in Chartis Geographicis nuncupatum."—p. 141.

Eyerdir seems to be fatal to royalty, for it is here too that the Greek emperor received the intelligence of the death of his eldest and favourite son Alexis

after Mr. Dethier found some handsome pilasters in a burial-ground near the sources of a stream.

At a quarter past twelve, when in the plain, a village called Phindos lay on the left, and a stone causeway on the right. Course as before, west by south. At half past twelve passed a fountain with a handsome sarcophagus of white marble on the left, and a mosque and minaret on the right. The mountain lay at a short distance on the left, while on the right the plain extended widely, though bounded also by mountains.

A ruin was visible in the plain, but by the telescope it appeared constructed of small stones. At half past one we saw a *tomb* cut in the rock close on the left; and now the conical hill of Issar, (remembered too well by me from our memorable ascent to it in 1826,) and the line of trees below, marked the site of Isbarta.

The peaks of Taurus rose over the mountains on the left; and a cloud of singular form, which had preserved the same appearance almost all the way from Eyerdir, that of a bird with extended wings, now became so enlarged and full, though

with the same form, that we had serious apprehensions of a deluge to-morrow, if not to-night.

After a long and dusty ride over the plain, which we had named, in my former journey, the Plain of Whirlwinds, from the numerous columns of dust several hundred feet high, which were moving in every direction across the plain, we arrived at Isbarta at twenty minutes past three.

It may be useful to give a description of Isbarta, and the road from Ketsiburlu, from my former journal. The town of Ketsiburlu is situated on the extremity of a small plain, about four hours north-east from Deenare.

“ Its site is marked at a distance by an insulated rock rising steeply out of the plain, which was perhaps in ancient times the acropolis. Ketsiburlu is said by Colonel Leake to be described by Abubekr Ben Behren as a Kadilik of Hamed, of which Isbarta is the chief city ; it has one hundred and fifty houses, all Turkish, and a single mosque. I observed a few handsome fragments in the walls, but could not learn that there were any considerable remains near the town.\*

\* The army of Tamerlane was encamped between Olouc Boulough and Kitchie Boulough.

“ *Tuesday, April 11.*—We quitted Ketsiburlu at a quarter before eight, and at eight crossed a river flowing from the left. At a quarter after eight our course was south-east, over an extensive plain; and at nine o'clock a ridge of hills on the left, which had been parallel with our road, approached close to it; the plain, widening on the right, bounded also by hills; while before us lay a long range of mountains, bounding the plain at right angles with our road. Among these mountains at their southern extremity lay an extensive lake. At half-past nine, when at an old and large burial-ground, our course was south-east, or rather east-south-east. In another quarter of an hour was another burial-ground, full of fragments extremely decayed, but with no inscriptions. Here we learnt that the lake was the Bourdour Ghioul. We quitted the plain at half-past ten, and ascended the ridge of mountains which had bounded it on the south-east side: the lake now resembled a fine bay of a beautiful blue colour, surrounded by high cliffs. As we ascended, I saw at eleven o'clock, through an opening on the left, a considerable village lying in the plain at the foot of a hill. We reached the top of the

mountain in another half hour, the road having been winding, precipitous, and stony. The valonea oak and a few juniper-bushes, thinly scattered, scarcely relieved the extremely barren appearance of these mountains. From the summit we had a view of another extensive plain lying beneath us, bounded also by a parallel range that is on the south-east or south-south-east. The descent to this plain was gentle, and at a quarter before twelve, being nearly arrived at the bottom, we had a magnificent view of it. It appeared to be an amphitheatre of mountains; and the effect of the scene was considerably heightened by the sudden appearance of four or five columns, perhaps five hundred feet high, moving along in various directions over the plain. They were whirlwinds of dust. We reached the foot of the hill, and entered on the plain at twenty minutes after twelve; and, after another quarter of an hour, a large village was passed on the left; near which we crossed a small stream flowing down from the right. Isbarta was now directly a-head of our road, and our course south-south-east. We arrived there at twenty minutes past one, and fixed ourselves

in a khan principally occupied by Armenians, many of whom were employed in the open galleries of the khan printing cottons.

“Isbarta is magnificently situated at the foot of an enormous range of mountains (of which the summits of many were capped with snow, while others still more elevated rose behind, forming entire masses of snow) with so fine a plain before it, that it must surely have been the site of an ancient city of no small importance. My first impressions were that it could be no other than Antioch.

“The entrance into the town was particularly striking, from the minarets and gilded dome of a magnificent mosque built of finely-cut stone. A Turkish town owes its principal beauty to the elegant minaret rising over the terraced roofs amidst groves of cypress; and though nothing can equal, in my estimation, the massy towers of our cathedrals and old parish churches, yet for a modern chapel, substitute the cross for the crescent, and the minaret might perhaps be a graceful ornament.

“*Wednesday, April 12.*—We set out early this morning to visit the Greek churches of Is-



barta ; and, taking a guide to show us the Greek quarter, which is separated from the Turkish at the western extremity of the town, we found with some difficulty the Greek priest, Nicola, a Moriote, who showed us his church, which was almost below ground, probably from the accumulation of soil in the course of ages. It was plentifully ornamented with paintings, but we remarked, as an unusual occurrence, that no lamps were burning when we entered. Papas Nicola told us that Isbarta was in the diocese of Pisidia, the seat of the bishop, though at present he resided at Lysa near Sattalia. All the grave-stones were in Turkish with Greek characters. In return for his attentions we gave him a Greek Testament and some smaller books. Returning from the church, and not far from it, we saw a fragment of a white marble pillar, on which was a very imperfect inscription.

“ We had scarcely returned to the khan, when two other priests called, and earnestly requested Greek Testaments. We could give them but one, accompanying it with the first homily. They told us there were in Isbarta four churches and forty mosques ; but the number of mosques was,

I think, quadrupled. In the course of a long and serious conversation, they ingenuously lamented their ignorance, confessing, to use their own words, that ‘they were as blind as asses.’ They asserted strongly the great antiquity of their churches, as having been coeval, or nearly so, with the first establishment of Christianity.\* During the remainder of the morning, the hakim was more in request than the priest, and like Dr. Sangrado’s bleeding and hot water, he was from necessity compelled to confine his prescriptions nearly to leeches and vinegar, vinegar and leeches.

“ In the afternoon we took a ride from the east end of the town, along the foot of the range of mountains, in the hope of making a discovery of some of the ruins, with which I had been assured the neighbourhood of Isbarta abounds. We saw not the smallest vestige ; and the ride being extremely unpleasant, from a high wind which blinded us with dust, we thought it prudent to return to the town. In passing through it, we observed at a fountain a few fragments of white marble exquisitely sculptured. The number of

\* Lucas says, “ Le Christianisme s’est conservé dans cette ville, plus qu’en bien des endroits.”

fine fountains in Isbarta strikes every stranger. On our return from the Greek church this morning to the khan, a walk of twenty minutes, we counted above thirty ; and long before we arrived at the khan we ceased to count, our attention having been diverted by some other object.

“ *Thursday, April 13.*—In the course of yesterday, having accidentally met with a young Greek, a brother of my servant, who had been a clerk in a merchant’s house at Smyrna, but was now settled in Isbarta, he promised to call in the evening with some medals, and a letter for his brother. I learnt from him, and some other Greeks, that there were considerable ruins, inscriptions, and statues (*αγαλματα*) at the back of the town, distant only one hour and a half, at a place called Assar. He particularly distinguished between the ruins at Assar, and those at Aglason, to which latter place it was our intention to have gone this morning ; stating that he had often been at Assar ; that considerable quantities of medals were brought from thence ; and pointing to the highest hill at the back of Isbarta, said that the road to Assar lay between that hill and the adjoining one.

“ Recollecting that Lucas had been told that the ruins of old Isbarta lay among the mountains, though at a place of a different name, called Dourdan, and full of the persuasion that Antioch of Pisidia, which was on the mountains, must be near Isbarta, I easily prevailed on my friend to postpone our visit to Aglason for the morrow ; and mounting our horses, we were soon on the supposed road to Assar. The master of the khan seemed to know the place well, and sending for a young Turk, ordered him to accompany us as a guide. He was evidently quite ignorant of the place, and though he afterwards pretended to know it well, we doubted it very much, and our doubts were subsequently too well confirmed.

“ We left Isbarta about nine o'clock, and after riding for half an hour along the bottom of the range of mountains towards the west, we left Memet and our horses, and prepared to ascend the mountain. Ridge succeeded ridge for a long time, and the ascent was of great difficulty ; but the constant expectation of being rewarded by extraordinary discoveries stimulated us to go on, and we at last arrived at the base of the highest

mountain, on which our guide assured us we should find the ruins. We ascended it painfully, having long left ridges of snow beneath us ; and at length arrived at the top about eleven o'clock. Nothing was to be seen but the remains of a comparatively modern wall, probably a Turkish fortress, and some circular excavations for cisterns. Our guide had evidently been misled by the similarity of names, Assar and Hissar, the latter being Turkish for castle. As the Greeks call all ancient ruins *Καστρα*, so the Turks name them Hissar ; and it is more than probable that the Assar or Hissar of my Greek informant, and the Dourdan of Lucas, are one and the same. I looked towards the west, and saw in the direction which had been pointed out to me in the morning, a narrow ravine lying just below the mountain on which we stood, and having a direction nearly south-east. The ruins will probably be found by following this ravine.

“ Though disappointed and fatigued, the magnificence of the view in some measure put us again in good humour : stupendous ranges of mountains, many of which were capped with snow, rose on all sides, in front, behind, on the

right and left. The town of Isbarta lay at an immense depth beneath, with two villages or suburbs, separated from it by trees. The lake of Bourdour, as usual of a beautiful azure, was on the left, west-north-west from Isbarta; and the immense plain before us formed into an amphitheatre by the mountains all round it. It was indeed a most magnificent and almost inconceivable sight. The mountain we stood on was evidently part of Mount Taurus. The descent, perpendicular and full of loose stones, was still more difficult than the ascent; and when we had passed about two-thirds of the way, we were overtaken by a heavy shower, continuing all the way to Isbarta, which we reached about half-past twelve o'clock.



*Note to page 152, Vol. I.*

After our visit to the blind bard at Ishekli, Mr. Dethier thought he recollected a story in Boccaccio which resembled it in some of the incidents. In the eighth novel of the third day, Ferando, having taken a certain drug given him by the abbot, is taken out of the grave, and put into a dungeon, where he is made to believe that he is in purgatory, &c. In the "Literary Magnet," for February, 1826, is a story, said to be a Spanish one, and called "the Merry Wives of Madrid;" and that part of it which contains the story of the steward Anselmo, is evidently either borrowed from Boccaccio, or from some common oriental source, which, if it be really a Spanish story, is easily accounted for by their connexion with the Moors.

The *first* part, about finding the ring, the adjudication of the umpire, &c., which bears so close a resemblance to our Ishekli bard's tale, must also have had the same common origin.

But the object of this note is to prove that Boccaccio was himself a plagiarist, as appears from the following extract from his life:

"Boccaccio is taxed with plagiarism in his Latin works; and Vanozzi also accuses him of the same practice in the Decameron."

Warton, in his history of English Poetry, says, he



once fancied that Boccaccio might have procured the stories of several of his tales in the Decameron from some of his learned friends among the Grecian exiles, who, being driven from Constantinople, took refuge in Italy about the fourteenth century ; as, for instance, that of Cymon and Iphigenia, where the names are entirely Greek, and the scene laid in Rhodes, Cyprus, Crete, and other parts of Greece, belonging to the Imperial territory.

The *Historiæ* and *Poetica Opera*, mentioned by Boccaccio as brought from Constantinople by his preceptor Barlaam, were undoubtedly works of entertainment, and perhaps chiefly of the romantic and fictitious species. It is natural to suppose that Boccaccio, both from his connexion and his curiosity, was no stranger to the treasures, and that many of those pieces, thus imported into Italy, by the dispersion of the Constantinopolitan exiles, are only known at present through the medium of his writings. It is certain, that many oriental fictions found their way into Europe by means of this communication.

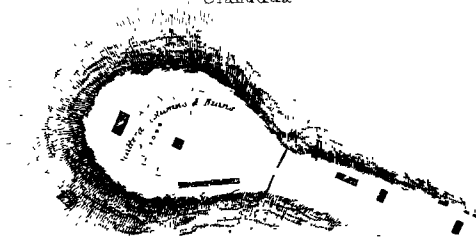
He also copied many of his best tales from the *Troubadours*.—(*From the edition of Boccaccio, published by Priestley, 1820.*)

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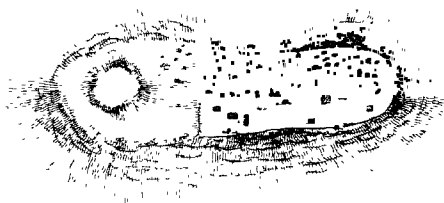
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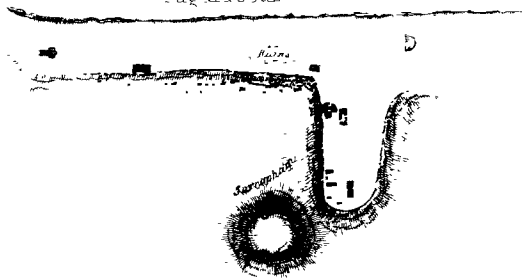
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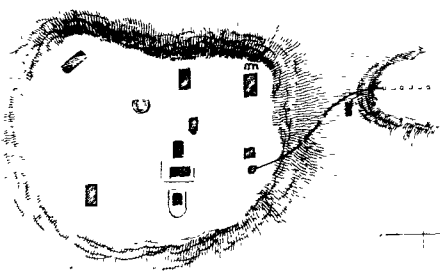
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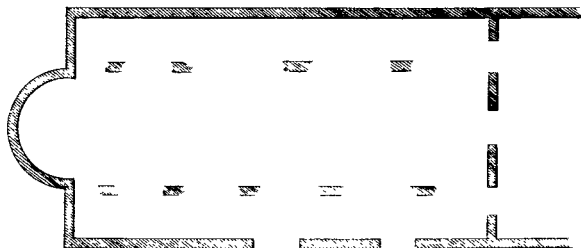


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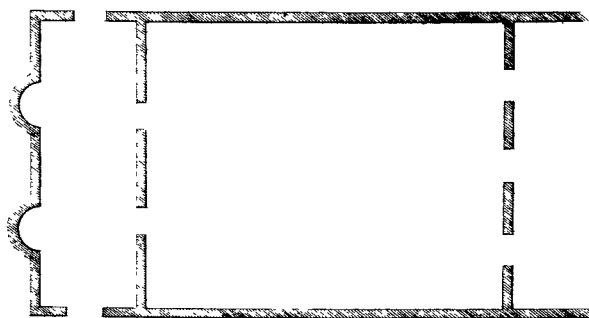




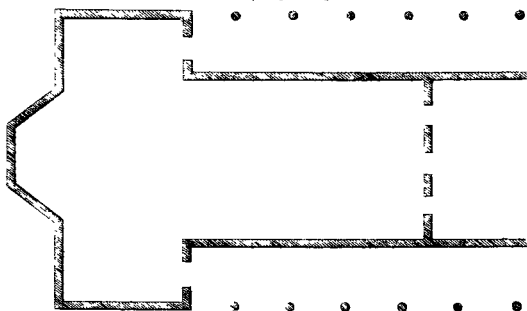
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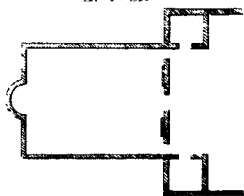
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motion by L. Laghe

Day 8: Barely a hot day. Fine, late S<sup>1</sup>, incl. hmf as

THESE ARE THE ACCOUNTS BY

Published by R. Bentley London 1854

DISCOVERIES  
IN  
ASIA MINOR;

INCLUDING A DESCRIPTION OF THE  
RUINS OF SEVERAL ANCIENT CITIES,  
AND ESPECIALLY  
ANTIOCH OF PISIDIA.

BY THE REV. F. V. J. ARUNDELL,  
BRITISH CHAPLAIN AT SMYRNA.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

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# DISCOVERIES IN ASIA MINOR.

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Barracks of the ninth regiment of Turkish Cavalry at Isbarta—Captain Yacoub Bey, the Turkish Napoleon—His marvellous stories, and account of the march from Isbarta to Homs or Chams—His plan and description of the battle—Visit to a Greek from Alexandria—The blind shopkeeper—Affecting melody of our barrack friends—Their subsequent fate—Account of the battle of Homs, and advance of Ibrahim Pasha to Kutaieh.

THE khan where I had formerly lodged was so full of Turkish cavalry, that not a hole was to be had for ourselves or our horses. Kyriacos proposed going to the Greek school, a roomy establishment, the master of which was well known to him. The school was as full as the khan with soldiers. We were more fortunate in being recognized by Mr. Balli, a Greek mer-



chant, who resides principally at Smyrna, and who is the sultan's agent for opium. He regretted that having several saraffs from Constantinople, he could not accommodate us under his own roof, but he undertook to find us an apartment.

We were soon put in possession of a room in a sort of barracks, a square having galleries and chambers all round it. It was completely filled with Turkish cavalry, men and horses, part of the sultan's army which had retreated hither after the battle and defeat of Ibrahim Pasha at Chams. Our apartment was but a poor substitute for Mr. Balli's comfortable mansion ; having windows on all sides without glass, and in part without shutters ; a floor which threatened to be treacherous to a heavy foot ; and through the wide crevices of which an odour, not equal to sandal wood or aloes, was incessantly arising from the Tactico horses below.

Our apartment was separated from a sort of mess-room of our soldier friends, by a partition so loosely framed, as kindly to give each party an opportunity of hearing and seeing what we were respectively doing. We had a door, but without a fastening.

Our baggage had scarcely been placed in the room, before we were visited by our respectable bulky friend and some other Greeks, and with them came a young Turkish officer, called Yacoub Bey, third captain in the ninth regiment of cavalry. He was a young fellow of most extraordinary intelligence ; he seated himself close to us, asked a thousand questions, and told us as many stories ; spoke French, Greek, a little Italian, and even a few words of English, and lamented bitterly he could not leave his regiment to improve his mind by residing in Paris or England.

Having seen Napoleon on board the *Bellerophon*, I was much struck by the strong resemblance, making allowance for difference of age ; and on telling him of it, he smiled, as evidently much gratified, and said every one had told him the same thing at Constantinople. He entertained us with many a story, most of them, as the following, of the marvellous kind.

When he was with the army at Antioch in Syria, he went, accompanied by some friends of the regiment, to see a *grotto*, of which they had heard strange things. It was not far from Antioch, and lay in a beautiful grove. Within the

grotto was a lake, the waters of which were green as the emerald, and at the farther end of the grotto, beyond the lake, were piled up, and visible from the entrance, immense heaps of diamonds, gold, and silver.

On the lake floated a boat of iron, which immediately on the arrival of any one, kindly places itself close to the entrance, as if inviting them to come on board and take possession of the treasures. Captain Yacoub and his friends had their eyes dazzled by the glittering heaps, and their hearts tantalized by the boat moving, as usual, close to their side. But they were prudent young men, and had heard of the fate which would befall them if they ventured on board.

The treasures are guarded by an invisible necromancer, and the instant any one is sufficiently covetous and fool-hardy to enter the boat, he is conveyed close to the riches, but then the boat turns, and he has no means of escape.

Captain Yacoub Bey asserted so positively that he had himself seen the lake, the grotto, the boat, and even the treasures, that I am inclined to believe that he really saw what he imagined to be so, probably some crystallization, or stalactites

glittering in the sunbeams. The description of the grotto and the grove agrees with the ancient account of the fountain of Daphne, near Antioch.\*

He also assured us that he had seen at Konia, in a large subterranean passage through which ran a strong stream of water, a stone, or rather rock, of enormous size, which by the continued action of the water upon it, might be easily moved with the shoulder.

I related to him the account of the Cornish Logan stone, its removal and more marvellous replacement by Lieutenant Goldsmith.† The

\* Strabo, after describing Antioch, says, “Ὑπέρκειται δὲ τετταράκοντα σταδίους ἡ Δάφνη, κατοίκια μετρία· μέγα δὲ καὶ συνηρεφὲς ἄλσος, διὰρρέομενον πηγαίοις ὕδασιν· ἐν μέσῳ δὲ ἄστυλον τήμενος, καὶ νεῶς Ἀπολλωνος, καὶ Ἀρτεμιδος.”—Lib. xvi. cap. 2.

Pocock places it at *Beit al Mei*, at five miles from Antioch, the road through groves of myrtle and mulberry trees. The largest of the fountains rises from under a vertical rock, forming a small abyss, or concavity, on the top and sides of which are the massy remains of an ancient edifice, perhaps those of the temple of Apollo.

† Partaking very strongly of the veneration felt in my native county for the *Logan Stone*, I have been much rejoiced to hear of its restoration to its original position. This is so ex-

young captain looked at me stedfastly, and, half offended, asked why I disbelieved his stories, for

traordinary an achievement, that I may be permitted to give a short account of it from the newspapers of the period.

On the 8th of April (or 18th) 1824, part of the crew of a cutter, stationed on the Cornish coast to look after smugglers, amused themselves at Castle Treryn, near St. Levan's, Land's End, in destroying the greatest national curiosity in these parts of the kingdom. After several efforts they at last attained the summit of their desires, and succeeded in forcing from the position, in which it was so nicely balanced as to be moved to and fro by the exertion of a single arm, a mass of granite, weighing little short of ninety tons.

In October following the same paper says, It is with a great degree of pleasure that we are enabled to inform the curious, and the lovers of antiquity, that an attempt is at last being made to restore this celebrated stone to its former pinnacle of wonder and surprise. Lieutenant Goldsmith, with a zeal truly characteristic of the British tar, in redeeming past errors, and ever anxious to please, commenced his operations on Thursday last, with about thirty able seamen, by landing the requisite apparatus from boats beneath the cliff. The weight of the rock has been recently found to be *seventy* tons, to lift which a *triangle* is erecting over it, of proportionate strength, with tackle, blocks, &c. of the *first magnitude*.

In the first week of November, we are told that Lieutenant H. Goldsmith, of the Nimble cutter, has *succeeded* in placing the Logan Stone in its former position. The first attempt was made on Friday week, in the presence of three thousand spectators; on Saturday further efforts were made, and on Tuesday afternoon the laborious task was completed;

he was persuaded that I had invented the story of the Logan Stone, as a polite way of telling him I did not believe him.

However imaginative he might be, he was certainly an uncommon character, and could he have been noticed by the sultan, and permitted, as several others have been, to spend some years in Europe, he would have returned qualified to fill the situation even of Seraskier.

His account of the campaign in Syria, and the unfortunate battle of Chams, was particularly interesting ; and the following itinerary of the march from Isbarta to Chams, which I wrote down while he enumerated the several conacs with a precision and rapidity equalling the blind bard of Ishekli, is a curious and useful document.

and so successfully, that the immense stone logs to and fro, exactly as before.

A public dinner was given to Lieutenant Goldsmith and his crew, at Penzance, and a subscription made to assist in defraying the expense of replacing the stone, which was very great. There was a view of the Logan Rock, and the machinery used for replacing it, published at Penzance, November 16, 1824.

## HOURS.

1. Isbarta to Eyerdir . . .	6	
2. Galandos . . .	9	
3. Kara-gatz . . .	6	
4. Carali . . .	6	Adjoining the lake Beysher— the ancient <i>Caralitis</i> .
5. Bey-sheer . . .	6	
6. Cara Hissar . . .	4	<i>Query</i> , the site of <i>Lystra</i> ? as some ancient remains there.
7. Einvanoun . . .	9	
8. Eyerlasse . . .	6	
9. Konia . . .	9	The distance to Konia from Kara-gatz by this route is 40 hours; whereas by the direct route of Sergè and Kusulouran it is only 22; therefore Yacoub must have coasted the lake, or at least gone down considerably to the south, and up again to Konia.
10. Shumra . . .	6	Tshumra of Colonel Leake.
11. Cassaba . . .	9	Colonel Leake makes it the same distance.
12. Karaman . . .	12	Colonel Leake makes it only 4 hours, but he passed a strait near the <i>Kara Dagh</i> , which perhaps short- ened the distance.
13. Erekle . . .	18	} Said by Bertrandon de la Bro- quiere, in 1432, to be <i>two</i> days' journey in a <i>plain</i> .
14. Chayan . . .	4	
15. Oloukishla . . .	4	Oloucouchela of Lucas.
16. Chafteen . . .	5	Chaftecamp of Lucas.

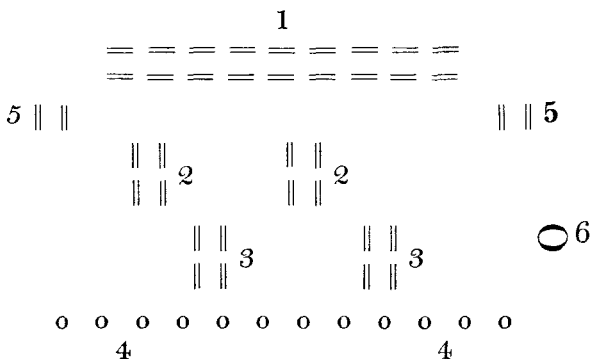
		HOURS.	
17.	Tekireyeline . . .	6	
18.	Chutaschesme . . .	6	
19.	Yekuk Minaret . . .	5	Choquen of Lucas.
20.	Adana . . .	6	Otter makes it 28 hours from <i>Oloukishla</i> .
21.	Misis . . . . .	6	Misis, also, of Otter, the Mop- uestra of the Antonine and Jerusalem Itineraries.
22.	Kalkoular . . . . .	9	<i>Courteculla</i> of Lucas, <i>Courd- koulagni</i> of Otter.
23.	Peias . . . . .	6	Baia of the Antonine and Jerusalem Itineraries.
24.	Scanderoon . . . . .	6	Alexandria, near the Gulf of Issus.
25.	Bellene . . . . .	3	Bailam of Lucas, and Beilan of Otter, who make it the same distance, 3 hours.*
26.	Karamontane . . . . .	3	Khan <i>Karamout</i> , the Khan of Black Myrtle.
27.	Antachia . . . . .	3	Antioch, on the Orontes.
28.	Zambachia . . . . .	6	
29.	Shoul . . . . .	6	
30.	Medik Kalesi . . . . .	12	Kalaat-el-Medyk — the an- cient <i>Apamea</i> .
31.	Hadji Kalesi . . . . .	12	
32.	Huma . . . . .	12	Hamah, the <i>Hamath</i> of Scripture.
33.	Chamas . . . . .	12	Homs, or Hems—the an- The scene of the battle. . . . . cient <i>Emesa</i> .†

\* The Beilan Boghaz, where the Turkish army was defeated by Ibrahim Pasha, was the ancient Syria Pylæ.

† The monster Helogabalus was a native of this city.



*Fac-simile of the Plan drawn by Captain Ya-  
coub Bey, of the disposition of the two Armies  
at the Battle of Chams, or Homs.*



1. The sultan's army, forming an extended line.
2. } Battalions of Ibrahim Pasha's army each
3. } of — thousand men, with 25 pieces of  
cannon.
4. 4. Cannon and mortars.
5. 5. Cavalry.
6. An eminence on which two divisions of re-  
serve were posted by Ibrahim Pasha.

The divisions 2 and 3 attacked in succession, alternately advancing and falling back into their former position ; while the sultan's army kept invariably one long-continued line. Then the cavalry of Ibrahim having put to the rout those

of the sultan, and the mortars throwing bombs, the division 6 descended from the mountain, took the sultan's army in the rear, and totally defeated them; the troops dispersing, and flying in every direction, as each individual thought wisest and safest.

In the retreat after this battle, they had to contend with more destructive enemies;—the *cholera*, want of food, and want of water! The daily victims exceeded one thousand! Captain Yacoub calculated the total number at 20,000!

*The Return from Syria after the Battle.*

HOURS.

- |                           |    |   |
|---------------------------|----|---|
| 1. Shoul to Veket Minaret | 14 | In this day's march multitudes died of <i>cholera</i> , &c. |
| 2. Hastamas               | 6  |   |
| 3. Alep                   | 6  |   |

From Aleppo to Antioch he did not recollect the road, having been obliged to traverse the mountains to avoid the Aleppines, who had revolted against the sultan, and declared in favour of Ibrahim.\*

\* It was near Chams, or Homs, the Emperor Aurelian defeated Zenobia, queen of Palmyra. The following account

We had an excellent dinner sent us by Mr. Balli, and with the good assistance of himself and Captain Yacoub Bey, whose sufferings had of the battle will be an amusing contrast to Yacoub's description of modern warfare :—

“ The Emperor Aurelian, after having entered Antioch, proceeded to Emisa, the Chams or Homs of the present day. Finding the Palmyrene army drawn up before Emisa, amounting to about seventy thousand men, consisting of Palmyrenes, and their allies, he opposed to them the Dalmatian cavalry, the Mœsians, and Pannonians, and the Celtic legions of Noricum and Rhætia, and besides these the choicest of the imperial regiment selected man by man, the Mauritanian horse, the Tyaneans, the Mesopotamians, the Syrians, the Phœnicians, and the Palestinians, all men of acknowledged valour; the Palestinians, besides other arms, wielding clubs and staves.

“ At the commencement of the engagement, the Roman cavalry receded, lest the Palmyrenes, who exceeded them in number, and were better horsemen, should by some stratagem surround the Roman army. But the Palmyrene cavalry pursued them so fiercely, though their ranks were broken, that the event was quite contrary to the expectation of the Roman cavalry. For they were pursued by an enemy much their superior in strength, and therefore most of them fell. The foot had to bear the brunt of the action. Observing that the Palmyrenes had broken their ranks when the horse commenced their pursuit, they wheeled about, and attacked them while they were scattered and out of order. Upon which many were killed, because the one side fought with the usual weapons, while those of Palestine brought clubs and staves against coats of mail made of iron and

neither affected his appetite nor his spirits, we did ample honour to it.

*Monday, Nov. 12.*—Milcom made loud complaints this morning against our lodging and fellow-lodgers. My bridle had been stolen, and one of the horse coverings. The poor soldiers were of course condemned, though upon insufficient evidence; and as several *christians* were repeatedly passing to and fro, I felt quite as disposed to call them the thieves.

Our breakfast was *en gourmand*, from a present of wild boar, shot on Mount Taurus, the best, as our appetites thought, we had ever tasted. We were in duty bound to thank the donor, a one-eyed Greek from Alexandria, who had lately built himself a smart house in his native town of Isbarta.

Though it rained deluges, we paid him a visit, and after pipes,\* glykee, rosolio, &c. &c., the desert was a bag of medals, among which were

brass. The Palmyrenes therefore ran away with the utmost precipitation, and in their flight trod each other to pieces, as if the enemy did not make sufficient slaughter; the field was filled with dead men and horses, whilst the few that could escape took refuge in the city.—*History of Zosimus, page 26.*

\* Literally *sweets*—conserve of roses, and other fruits.

many I would willingly have bought, but the price demanded was five times their value. Notwithstanding, I did subsequently agree to take the whole at the sum fixed ; the contract was made—the bag sealed, and to be sent by Mr. Balli to Smyrna ; but as usually happens in numismatic transactions, our one-eyed friend withdrew his pledge, and demanded double the sum. There were some medals of inedited towns in the collection ; as two or three with KPH, Cremna or Cretopolis, and a fine medal of Baris, which probably decides that Isbarta occupies the site of that city.

We now paid a visit to the bazaars, and replenished our stock of sugar and raisins. The articles were weighed, and the money was paid, before we perceived that the poor man who sold them was blind ! Seated on his shop-floor, habit had taught him to find every article with such precision, that no one, without looking attentively at him, would have suspected his misfortune.

The cataracts were not sufficiently formed to be operated upon, but I gave the poor fellow my address, and invited him to come to Smyrna

in the spring, with the consoling prospect of being relieved. It is impossible to describe his joy and gratitude at this unexpected good news. He gladly accepted the invitation, and we left him with a countenance beaming with delight.

I left him with somewhat different feelings, having been stung by a wasp, which was thieving among the sugar. The weather confined us to our chamber all the rest of the day, and I suffered so much, the hand and arm swelling, and the pain extending up to the shoulder, notwithstanding the application of laudanum, sal volatile, &c., that I could do little more than watch the progress of a portrait made by Mr. Dethier, of Captain Yacoub, at the captain's own pressing request; and in the evening listen to the melancholy melody of our friends in the adjoining chamber.

It was a wild but mournfully pleasing strain of a few notes, repeated without variation, and Mr. Dethier thought it might be the air, which the Arabs are in the habit of singing every evening. It made a strong impression upon me, but I as little thought as these poor victims, that they were singing their funeral dirge.

In little more than a month after, they were all cut off to a man, in the sanguinary battle between Ibrahim Pasha and the Grand Vizier Reschid Pasha, when the latter was taken prisoner. They deserved a better fate, for they fought with the most determined courage; and the Egyptian has little to pride himself upon, as the victory was gained by the treachery and desertion of the Albanian troops, seduced, doubtless, by Egyptian gold.

Since I wrote this, an excellent article, called the "Crisis in the East," has appeared in the "Foreign Quarterly Review," for February last, in which the conduct of the Albanian troops is very differently represented, and their devotion to Reschid Pasha is highly applauded. However, what I have said was generally reported at Smyrna, and in the Smyrna papers at the time.

The circumstances which compelled me to request leave of absence from my duties at that place were so afflicting, that I left behind me the *Moniteur Ottoman* and Smyrna papers, with many notes on Ibrahim's invasion of Syria, and his successes there and in Anatolia. I shall,

therefore, take the liberty of giving some account of the two most important battles, from the "Foreign Quarterly," in illustration of my poor friend Yacoub's statements.

#### THE BATTLE AT HOMS.

The Turkish army, under the chief command of Hussein Pasha, arrived at Konia in May, 1832, but did not reach Antioch till July. The forces, however, of the Asiatic Pashas, united under the chief command of Mehemet Pasha, to the number of fifty thousand, mostly irregulars, had taken up their station in the neighbourhood of a town called Hammah, of considerable importance from its situation between the northern and southern provinces of Syria. Here they awaited the arrival of the Turkish grand army. No sooner were the Pashas joined by the advanced body of the Turkish regular army, than they quitted their encampment at Hammah, and descended into the open plains that extend on every side round the town of Homs. These plains are famous as the scene of many a contest. It was on them, in ancient times, that Zenobia contended with Aurelian,



and made her last vigorous efforts against the domination of the Romans. This place Ibrahim also was approaching, and on the seventh of July the conflict took place which decided the fate of Syria.

The actual amount of the Turkish army was considerably greater than that of Ibrahim's, being above fifty thousand men, but the number of regular troops was much less than his, consisting of not more than four regiments of infantry, and two of cavalry ; in all, between nine and ten thousand men. The irregulars charged with impetuosity, but could make no impression upon the solid compact masses of Ibrahim's army. His infantry were placed in the centre, and the two wings consisted of cavalry. The battle on the Turkish side was, in fact, maintained by the regular troops. It is stated in the Turkish accounts, that they had advanced by forced marches, and had to engage the very day of their arrival. At all events, it is certain that the men could have had no time to recover from the fatigues of a long and rapid march. The battle lasted the whole day, and twice the Turkish troops seemed to gain the advantage, which they were, however,

unable to maintain. The Asiatic troops, long before the battle was over, had ceased to render much assistance ; but upon the last charge which Ibrahim ordered with his guards, a panic, which nowhere spreads faster than in a Turkish army, seized upon them all, both regulars and irregulars, and a precipitate flight ensued. Night put an end to the pursuit, but the slaughter of the Turks was very great, and their overthrow complete. They were, moreover, as if in a hostile country, overwhelmed by the natives, &c. who, after their defeat, everywhere rose against them, and completed the work of destruction, wherever it had been left unfinished by the Egyptians. From two to three thousand perished in the field, and a far greater number in the subsequent flight.

On the 8th of July, Ibrahim advanced upon Hammah, and finding it abandoned, took possession of it.

The Turks defended Antioch with such determined courage, that after a most desperate and sanguinary conflict, Ibrahim was obliged to retire. But the Turks were dying with hunger

and disease, though provisions had been brought to the port of Scanderoon.

On the 15th of July he entered Aleppo, the inhabitants hailing him as their deliverer ; and then went in pursuit of Hussein, and the Turkish army, which had taken up their position behind the pass of Bylan Boghaz, the ancient Pylæ Syriæ, situated between the port of Scanderoon and the town of Antioch. The Turkish troops were ranged along the heights, and artillery was posted on all the commanding points : the cavalry were dispersed in different parts of the defile. The Egyptians reached the pass on the 28th of July, and proceeded to force it on the following morning.

The Turks fought with such determined courage, that the Egyptians were repulsed in three successive charges, and made but little progress during a great portion of the day. When, however, by a well directed fire from their artillery, they had succeeded in dismounting some of the Turkish guns, and produced confusion in their ranks, Ibrahim sent round his guards to endeavour to take the heights on one

side, where they were accessible, and made a simultaneous charge in front. The manœuvre was completely successful. The Turks, seized again with a panic, fled in the greatest disorder, leaving their guns, ammunition, &c. and were pursued with dreadful slaughter. The loss of the Turks, killed, is estimated at thirteen thousand men. They were completely dispersed or taken prisoners. Some deserted and joined the Egyptians, and the remaining few made their way as they best could to Konia.

On the 1st of August, Antioch surrendered to Ibrahim Pasha, and he became master of all Syria. Hussein was recalled, and Reschid Pasha, the grand vizier, was invested with his powers and dignities.

Ibrahim, in October, entered Anatolia, and defeating a body of Turks at Ereklè, arrived at Konia on the first of November.

The Turkish army under Reschid Pasha arrived at Aksher, from whence, in the middle of December, he advanced with the main body, and after innumerable difficulties and dreadful sufferings, his troops arrived near Konia the 20th of December. On the following day the battle

took place, which terminated in the complete annihilation of the sultan's army, and the capture of the grand vizier himself.

In the first week of February, 1833, Ibrahim had advanced to Kutaieh, solely as he pretended, for the greater convenience which it afforded in the supply of provisions and of wood for the army. It was during his residence here, that the sultan acceded to the demands of the Egyptian, appointing him Pasha of Abyssinia and Djidda, and governor of the Holy Cities of Mecca and Medina ; and to that of Mehemet Ali, Pasha of Egypt and Candia, was added the pashalick of Syria. The government of Adana was subsequently added. In the month of May, Ibrahim left Kutaieh and began his retrograde march.

## CHAPTER II.

Leave Isbarta—Ancient vestiges—Arrive at Aglason—River of Sagalassus—Course of the Duden, the Catarractes—The position corrected of the Cestrus and Eurymedon—Archbishop of Pisidia's information—Ruins of Sagalassus—Peripteri temple—Porticoes—Gymnasium—Church of Sagalassus—Theatre—Miss my companions—The wild boar—Tombs—The Oda bashi's conjecture on the diazon of the theatre—The camel and its medicinal and moral qualities—Siege of Sagalassus by Alexander—Macedonian phalanx—Bishops of Sagalassus.

*Tuesday Nov. 13*—The weather brightened this morning, and having paid visits to Mr. Balli, his brother, and our one-eyed friend, and compelled to take pipes and rackee, and sweets and coffee at all, we prepared to set out for Aglason; but previously visited, *en Hakim*, a Greek family, in which Kyriacos took a lively interest, to see a poor girl who had lost the sight of one eye. It was occasioned by the puncture of a needle; the pupil destroyed, and of course no cure.

Perhaps I am noticing an eventful period in the future fortunes of Kyriacos, for the poor girl had beautiful sisters with both eyes sound ; the family respectable and wealthy ; and Kyriacos declared the only places, to find a wife, were Isbarta and Koula.

We left our friends of the barrack, and mounted our horses at eleven o'clock. The recollection of my snow adventures in 1826 were so lively, that we determined on the present occasion to be more prudent, and not to run the risk of being buried in the snows of Mount Taurus, for the sake of saving an hour or two of distance ; and accordingly set out to take the longer but safer road, of eight hours, by the plain. So many people were on their way for the bazaar at Isbarta to-morrow, that being assured there was no snow, we again took the shorter road.

At ten minutes before twelve, when traversing the bed of the river, with the high calcareous mountain on the right, we saw on the summit two arched entrances partly broken off, as if the mountain, or part of it, had been rent away ; and being quite perpendicular, if not overhanging the ravine, it evidently had been so. I was,

therefore, not deceived in my first journey, when I fancied I saw considerable remains, though attributing them subsequently to nature, as at Dopus Kalesi,

“The rocky summit, split and rent,  
Formed turret, dome, or minaret.”

But connecting these actual remains with those of the ancient bridge and walls, crossing the torrent-bed, and the fragments of columns, it is quite certain that some town must have occupied the lofty site of the mountain on the right. The road from Isbarta by the *plain*, must pass behind this mountain, that is, on the *west*; and, very probably, had we taken that route, we should have discovered more important ruins.

There is such an extraordinary variety of rocks, to say nothing of the more extraordinary direction of their strata, calcareous, sandstone, white marble, and several kinds of volcanic stone, besides the green mineral which I found on my first journey, probably *glycone*,—that a geologist would have a wide field for research, and a still wider for conjecture, as to the causes of these contradictory formations.



Having crossed and re-crossed, and traversed the bed of the river so frequently, we see no more of it as we come to the foot of the memorable hill usually covered with snow. It rises in two sources near this spot, and flowing down to the town of Isbarta, is subsequently absorbed by the thirsty plain, unless, like so many other rivers in this country, it then takes a subterranean course.

We found here the inscription on the column which I had seen in my first journey, and which, as restored by the kindness of Colonel Leake, is a dedication to the emperors, Septimus Severus, and Caracalla.

Λουκιω (Σεπτι)  
 μιω (Σεουηρω)  
 ευσεβει (Περτι)  
 νακι και (Μαρκω)  
 Αυρηλιω (Αντωνει)  
 νω Σεβασ (τοις με)  
 γιστοις Α (ραβικοις)  
 Αδιαβηνικο (ις Παρθι  
 Κοις . . . .  
 . . . . αλων

Lucio Septimo Severo Pio Pertinaci et  
Marco Aurelio Antonino, Augustis, maximis,  
Arabicis, Adiabenicis, Parthicis.

Having copied the inscription, we soon began to ascend the mountain ; and seeing it now, naked, without snow, I was astonished that we could ever have reached the summit ; so full of rocks and enormous chasms, deep enough to cover twenty horses, but in 1826 presenting one smooth, uniform surface.

Great cause, indeed, had we for gratitude to the preserving mercy of God, for no hand but his could have guided us safely to the summit. It was extremely difficult to ascend even to day, and a work of considerable time ;—how much more fearful when covered with snow !

Descending by the long and difficult descent on the other side, we sent the horses on to Aglason ; and Kyriacos preferred to accompany them, while Mr. Dethier and I mounted to the terrace, on which stand the ruins of Sagalassus ; and having taken a hasty view of them, especially the theatre, descended by the steep, stony hill of the Acropolis.

On our way, we discovered the platform either of a mausoleum or small temple, with the trunk of a finely-executed statue. Though nearly dark, we found our way to the village of Aglason, and were soon comfortably seated in a capital oda, with numerous Turks around us, ready to give us all the information in their power.

The river of Aglason, or rather Sagalassus, the ancient Cestrus, rises very near the road by which we descended before reaching the ruins, and is called, in Turkish, by a word which signifies "*the Greek daughter*." We were assured that this river flows down to Adalia, and that six or eight hours from Adalia there is a lake, out of which issues a river, which *falls down a considerable height*, and afterwards passes by a bridge of forty arches, (probably an aqueduct,) and is then called the Duden Sou, down to Adalia.

It is evident, by this account, that the river of Sagalassus, and the Duden Sou, are different streams. The Duden is clearly the Catarractes ; and this fall from a considerable height, independently of its subsequent fall over the cliff into the sea, puts it beyond doubt ; and as its source is

from the lake, it explains, what would otherwise be difficult, how the Cestrus, or river of Saga-lassus, should have its sources to the west or north-west of the Duden, and yet fall into the sea considerably to the east of it.

When Lucas came from Sousou, after three hours he ascended the mountains of Ustanaasi, then descended into a plain, then reascended by a magnificent road of white marble, and found ruins of an immense fortress, with two large gates ; after which *immense* ruins on the slope of the mountain as descending into the plain, which descent was above an hour and a half, and the ruins all the way. This mountain he calls Chenet ; the plain below, Bilieri Ovasi. One hour and a half after entering this plain, which was watered by the Duden, he conacked near the river. This river, at a little distance from hence, is lost at the foot of a rock *escarpée*, and does not appear again till five or six leagues from thence ; then, after a short distance, again passes *underground*, and thence to Satalia.

As Lucas's conac, near the Duden, must have

been eight hours from Sousou, he was evidently below, or to the south of, the place where it is said to issue out of the *lake*, and which, being behind the mountain, of course he did not see. But where it *subsequently* becomes *subterranean*, and from which it takes its name of Duden, it is difficult to say ; for by General Koehler's route the river was *in sight* all the way from Adalia to the ruins of Termessus, the same which Lucas describes *before* he came to the Duden.

It is therefore probable, it was subterranean in its previous course, before it re-issues from the lake ; and if so, the stream seen by General Koehler at Karabunarkeuy may be the Duden, and its subterranean course between that place and the lake. I would not venture positively to connect it with the river near Tshaltigtshi, but it is possible that they may be identified.

In all the maps hitherto, the sources of the rivers Catarractes, Cestrus, and Eurymedon, have been placed much too far to the eastward, which is corrected by the discovery of the position of Sagalassus, and the sources of the Cestrus ; for as the sources of the Eurymedon are

said by Strabo to be not far from those of the Cestrus, or at least the rivers were near each other, because both are said to fall from the mountains of Selge into the Pamphylian sea, the source of the Eurymedon has now been placed rather in a westerly than eastern direction. This would not be much removed from the sources of a river of which the Archbishop of Pisidia gave me the following account.

“ About two hours and a half (or three hours) from Isbarta, towards the east, (or south-east,) is the village of Sav, where is the source of a river called the Sav-sou. Five hours and half beyond, and still towards the east (south-east,) is the village of Pavli, (St. Paul,) and *here* the river, which had continued its course so far, is *lost* in the mountains : that is becomes subterranean, and it is not again visible till after twenty-five hours, when it re-issues from the mountains and passes close by *considerable ruins*, at seven hours above Eski Satalia, near which place it falls into the sea, having sometime previously divided into two considerable streams.”

Now though the subterranean course of twen-

ty-five hours is extraordinary, and it would be rather too much to identify it with the Eurymedon, yet the archbishop, who has been in the constant habit of travelling every year from Alaya, the limits of his diocese, up to Isbarta, assured me positively, there are no other rivers whatever on the road, that is, *after* the streams which have their æstuary near Eski Adalia. (*Side.*)

The *considerable ruins* which he speaks of as *seven* hours above Eski Adalia, would be those of Pednelissus or Aspendus, though the latter was only six or eight miles from the sea. The *two streams* seem to account for the river between the Eurymedon and the Melas not being named by Strabo; if it was only a branch of the Eurymedon it was unnecessary.

The account which the archbishop had the kindness to give as to the extent of his diocese, was interesting, and will be noticed hereafter.

Our kind friends of the oda gave us much interesting information about the ruins of a city, said to resemble in position, those of Sagalassus, but more extensive, at the distance of five hours, and as there is a village called Debrè, (Devrè)

only three hours from Aglason, we determined to take a guide and go thither to-morrow, in the confident assurance that it must be Selge.

This city of which the discovery, according to Colonel Leake, " would be the most interesting in this part of the country," was celebrated according to Strabo, for the *styrax* tree, and the resinous gum which it produced. There was also a peculiar species of Iris, called the Σελγικὴ ἴρις, from which an ointment was made.

The villagers could give us no account of the styrax tree, but we were assured, that iris of three colours are found at the village near which we hoped to find the ruins of Selge. We were also told that there is a small plain with olives and vines, corresponding exactly with the description of Strabo.

*Wednesday Nov. 14.*—We rose at an early hour, intending to take a view of the ruins of Sagalassus, and afterwards to proceed to the village of Debrè, near which is the supposed site of Selge. We rode to the foot of the acropolis, sending back our horses, and while Mr. Dethier sketched the statue we had discovered yesterday, Kyriacos and I ascended to the site of the temple near the



acropolis. Before we arrived there, I observed a wall with *polygon stones*, much anterior, of course, to most of the ruins, which seem to be principally Roman.

The ground plan of the temple is perfect, and though the columns are thrown down, the exact position of each can be clearly made out. It was of that kind called *peripteri*, the order Corinthian. The cell was sixty-two feet six inches long, by thirty-one feet six inches wide. Breadth from the cell, of the flanks on which the side columns were placed, eight feet and a half. On each of the flanks were nine columns, eight feet and a half distant from each other. The pronaos had only four columns, and the same number in the posticus. The columns, which are fluted, are three feet in diameter.

This temple exactly resembles the temple at Euromus, which was also a temple of the *peripteri* kind. The cell was only fifty-one feet long, and twenty-eight feet wide. The breadth of the flanks from the cell five feet ; the columns four feet distant from each other ; the same number of columns exactly in both ; the diameter of the columns two feet two inches, *fluted*. Before



On Stone by I. Hayler

# RUINS of SAGALASSOS

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the pronaos, a flight of steps or staircase. This does not exist in the temple at Sagalassus, but in front, when going from this temple towards the acropolis, is a large heap of fragments, the probable site of another temple, the columns also fluted, but only two feet in diameter. Part of the ground-plan remains.

The acropolis rises near this, a conical hill of considerable height, separated by a narrow ravine from the last-mentioned ruins ; and having the sides covered with sarcophagi and sepulchral marbles, many of both, with inscriptions and figures in bas relief.

Returning to the last ruins, a portico runs towards the mountain, or north, nearly three hundred feet long, and about twenty-seven wide. To this succeeds a pavement filled with pedestals, &c., and beyond, on the right, are the remains of an extensive edifice, more oblong than square, the walls composed of enormous blocks ; and in the centre two very large arches, as if the souterrain of a building above them. On the northern wall was sculptured a large circular shield. Could this have been a gymnasium ?

Nearly close to this building is another, with

a circular wall, and places for beams, like that at Yalobatch, and like that probably a *portico* of the kind called *sigma*. The front is straight, with a square doorway in the centre. If the circular end had not been perpendicular, I should have taken it for an Odeon.

Above, or more to the north, is another square paved inclosure, full of pedestals, capitals, &c. beyond which, are foundations and two walls, evidently belonging to another immense building, probably another temple. Here, on fragments belonging to the frieze, are two bas reliefs of females, holding a garland, sculptured with great spirit. The walls which stand are north and south, but they form a very small proportion of the whole building, which extended principally towards the east. Several doorways on the south side are still visible, of small size, a few feet above the ground.

The street now takes a direction towards the west, and the terrace is edged by the remains of a massy wall. Beyond this succeeds an immense heap of sculptured stones and other walls, and nearly at the north-west extremity are the remains of a very ancient *Christian* temple. In

my first visit I doubted its being so, but there is abundant evidence to prove it.

It is constructed of large blocks of marble; the architecture of the richest style, the columns fluted with Corinthian capitals, and two feet in diameter.

The building stands east and west. The total length about one hundred and sixty feet; the breadth of the nave about seventy-five. The bema is not circular, but angular, the breadth as the nave seventy-five feet and the depth twenty-one. Between the bema and the nave is a transept extending sixteen feet on either side beyond the nave, making the entire breadth of this part about a hundred and seven feet. From each of these sides a doorway opened, into what was probably a side portico with pillars. There were three gates or doors at the great entrance, the centre one, as usual, very large. The portico, or pronaos was twenty-seven feet long, and beyond this, the walls were still extended on either side. From the number of columns lying in all directions, some fluted, others plain, it is possible there was a nave and side-aisles, but there are no foundations to support the con-  
jec-

ture, and the columns may have belonged to the front and side colonnades. On the upper part of the walls, which are standing on the north-eastern end, are a number of small figures, for the most part grotesque, as masks, &c., but executed in a very spirited style. A large cross is cut deep into one of the blocks of the principal entrance.

Beyond the church on the west side, at the distance of about one hundred feet, is a large heap of enormous stones belonging to either a circular or semicircular edifice ; that which remains of the circle being towards the west, not the east, as a bema. There is little doubt that it was circular, and elevated on a basement with steps to ascend to it.

If there had been one on the other side, but I saw no remains, the church with those additions would have resembled the supposed church of St. John at Pergamus, supposing they had been carried to the same height. The diameter does not appear to have been more than fifteen feet. If a conjecture as to its destination may be hazarded, I should take it for a baptistery.

We had appointed the theatre as the place of

rendezvous ; but I had spent so much time in measuring the church, that on arriving at the theatre, my friends were neither in sight, nor within the reach of my voice, though, mounted on one of the highest seats of the theatre, I strained it to the utmost.

I have remarked in my former visit the admirable state of preservation in which the theatre still exists. So much of the proscenium is standing, that the entire plan may be perfectly made out ; and the diazoma or corridor is so well preserved, that I walked nearly all round it—not, I confess, without some apprehension of breaking in upon the retirement of a wolf or a hyæna.

“ The theatre most strongly attracted our attention, being in a state of preservation superior even to those of Laodicea and Hierapolis. I could almost fancy the crowds of ancient days rushing in at the different portals, and impatiently taking their places. The seats, forty in number, were almost as perfect as if still in use ; and a considerable portion of the proscenium and entrance was nearly as perfect.

“ The orchestra was covered with snow, as well as a large heap of stones close to the proscenium.



Among those covered, we saw a good deal of architectural ornament of excellent execution, but neither has relief nor inscription. We had no means of ascertaining the external diameter ; but the interior must be about ninety feet, as the pulpitum of the proscenium was above eighty-six. In the pulpitum was a centre door, fifteen feet high and nine wide, and two smaller doors on either side, of which, the nearest was eleven feet high, and nine wide, but the most remote, near the ends of the cavea, only five, including one of the door-posts. The distance between the pulpitum and the scene was eighteen feet. From the doors of the pulpitum were four steps to descend into the orchestra. The dramatis personæ were a solitary fox and a covey of red-legged partridges." \*

It was now evident my friends had returned to the village ; I followed the proposed road by the side of the mountain, in the hope of finding them, but without success, and then descended by a very difficult and fatiguing steep, for road there was none, to the river, and thence to Aglason, where I found my companions already arrived,

\* First Journey, p. 142.

and in great distress about me, having searched and halloed, and fired shot after shot, to no effect. This will of itself convey a good idea of the extent of the ruins of Sagalassus, for I neither heard voice nor gun.

My apprehensions, while in the dark, vaulted passage of the corridor, were not altogether fanciful. Mr. Dethier heard a rustling in a thicket near him, and had the agreeable sight instantly after of a wild boar within six feet of him ; the long, curved, ivory tusks, displayed with full effect upon the black bristly coat.

Fortunately, the wild boar, unless attacked, does not alter his line of march ; and therefore, though Mr. Dethier was so near him, he only gave a horrible grunt, and then moved on. Mr. D.'s gun was only loaded with small shot, and therefore, though he fired when the animal was at a respectable distance, it was, of course, without any other effect than to put Kyriacos, who was some way in advance, upon his guard.

Scarcely was the gun discharged, and Kyriacos had heard the caution—" *Le sanglier a vous—sauvez-vous*—the wild boar is upon you—save yourself"—when the ferocious-looking mon-

ster passed close by him ; but very quietly, and without deigning to notice him.

The horses and baggage, palank and paplo-mas, were all ready for departing to Devrè ; but the man who undertook to be our guide suddenly disappeared, and another demanding fifty piastres, with the assertion that the village was five hours off instead of three, we abandoned the journey till the morrow, probably to the satisfaction of the whole party, as we were already sufficiently fatigued.

Reverting now to the ruins of the city, Strabo correctly describes it as *walled*, *τειχεῖσιν*, with the mountains ; and it is easy to imagine that Alexander must have had a difficult task in the siege. The acropolis is lofty and strong ; the emplacement of the city is very extensive, the principal part of it, forming two streets at right angles, of great length. Not sufficiently acquainted with ancient architecture, it was impossible for me to make out the original appropriation of half the ruins, of which the foundations and immense heaps of materials remain. But the Corinthian order prevailed nearly throughout the whole, the church not excepted.

The most ancient remains are the polygon wall, and part of another of the same kind, on the descent from behind the theatre down into the valley. These are probably vestiges of the days of Alexander.

The places of burial are innumerable—sarcophagi lie about in every direction, not only all around the acropolis, but at considerable distances from it. Almost the whole had been violated, notwithstanding the fearful interdictions with which sepulchral inscriptions usually abound, and their covers lie beside them, either broken or entire.

The circularly arched recesses for the urns in the mountain-side were nearly as numerous. Many are rent away by the falling of large fragments of rock, and some are placed so high, as almost to require a telescope to see them. A great many are ornamented with garlands and the *caput bovis*; others with simply a circular wreath or crown—the emblem of that *crown* of everlasting life, the reward of fidelity unto death.

In some that are high up, there are three or more circular recesses, as a family burial-place, and inscriptions were originally on most, though now illegible.

The view, from the terrace or street of the acropolis, of the plain below, and of the mountains beyond, is magnificent in the extreme. The distant mountains rise like the countless waves of the sea agitated by a violent tempest; and if accurately delineated, would not be credited: the most distant ridge is covered with snow.

The theatre, though not large, would probably contain six thousand persons. Our host of the oda expressed his wonder at the long vaulted gallery which forms the *diazon*; and after many a vain conjecture, decided at last that it was most probably meant as a place for the camels to be *à l'abri du soleil*.

He had been skinning a camel, and probably the brilliant idea had its origin from thence. The poor animal, after a long and weary day's work, had fallen and broken its thigh, and the caravanji was obliged to kill it. We coveted a steak, but arrived too late.\*

\* De Camelina—Quæ palatorum libido? Arabes abstinent suilla, quam tot populorum consensus et sensus suavissimam et saluberrimam probant: camelorum autem carnes avide luscantur, quas apud nos gustaret nemo, nisi corpore simul et animo, ut cum Galeno loquar, καμηλωδης.—*Gronovii Thesaur.* vol. 9. lib. iii. cap. 9.

Having a grateful recollection of the kind manner in which we were received on my former journey, I went in search of the house, which was in a different part of the village ; but the dogs are so much less civil to strangers than their masters, that I was glad to return before I had reached half way.

An ancient cross on a stone was an evidence, that in other and better times there had been, probably, more than one church ; but, perhaps, there were not many more zealous (though mistaken) worshippers, than some of the followers of Mahomet. Our host, about five o'clock, while we were in loud, if not noisy conversation, took down the skin of some wild animal, and spreading it as his

But in justice to the camel, I must give another extract from Mr. Robert Lovell's (of Oxford) *Panzoologicomineralogia*, page 26.

Galen, Aristotle, and Pliny say, both their milk and flesh are of the *sweetest*. The fat of the haunch, the blood, the brain, the teeth, the gall, the tail, are all extolled by Lovell as medicinal. This is not the place to particularize, but I cannot omit one important property :—" One that is poisoned being put into the belly of a camel newly killed, is helped thereby, the heat thereof dissolving the poison, and strengthening the spirits." I conclude with the camel's moral character. " They are revengeful, docible, *love music*, are bashful, and compassionate."

carpet of prayer, deliberately performed his devotions in the midst of us. Alas ! how ought we to blush ! \*

Sagalassus, otherwise called Selgessus, was one of the most important cities, and most fertile districts in Pisidia. It is described by Strabo as being within Taurus, near Milyas, which district extended northward as far as those of Sagalassus and Apamea. Artemidorus, as quoted by Strabo, places Sagalassus the second in his list of cities of Pisidia, the first being Selge.

The siege by Alexander is thus described.

“ He went and encamped before Sagalassus, which is a strong place, and was well provided with the flower of their forces for its defence ; for though all the Pisidians are warlike and brave, yet the Sagalassenses are esteemed the stoutest of them all.

\* In my first visit, a Turk sold me a large brass cross of ancient date, with the usual legend  $\text{XP}\Sigma$  NIKAI, “ Christ conquers.” Oh, may the hour speedily arrive, when all the population of this interesting spot, without the aid of letters on a brass cross to recall their obligations to Him who died to save them from the errors of a false religion and the corruptions of a new one, shall unite in ascribing “ thanks to God who giveth us the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ ! ”

“ These being reinforced with troops from the Telmessians, their allies, and having more confidence in their own courage than in their walls, had drawn up their army on a neighbouring hill—a hill in advance of their town ; and by reason of the advantage they had of the ground, they repulsed the light-armed forces Alexander had sent against them.

“ However, the Agrians \* made an obstinate resistance, and seemed to be encouraged by the

\* It appears from the Tactics of Ælian, that Alexander's forces consisted of Hypaspistæ, (targetiers,) archers, and *Agrians* ; the Agrians were light-armed troops, who “ in all attempts of speed were employed by Alexander, and served the purpose by reason of their lightness.” They were foot soldiers, and armed only with darts. These were slender pieces of wood, about three feet long, armed at one end with a head of iron with a sharp point, to the end to pierce whatsoever it should fall upon. About the middle of these darts they fastened a thong, which was called *αγκυλον*, wherein, inserting their fore-finger, they lanced the dart with more facility.

“ The Hypaspistæ were a description of force between the heavy armed and the light : their arms, a target and spear.

“ The Macedonian phalanx is armed with target and pike : the target of brass, and somewhat hollow, and being eight handfulls in diameter, about two feet.”

As we have already had occasion to allude to the modern tactics of Ibrahim Pasha and the Turks, it may be amusing



approach of the Macedonian phalanx and the king's presence, whom they beheld before the colours.

to contrast it with the description of the Macedonian phalanx from the same old translation of Ælian :

“ The Macedonian phalanx hath of enemies beene thoughte unresistible, by reason of the manner of embattling. For the souldier with his armes standeth in close order, or shutting, when he is ready for fight, occupying two cubits of ground. And the length of his pike is sixteen cubits according to the first institution, but in truth it ought to be fourteen cubits ; whereof the space betwixt the hands in charging taketh up two cubits, the other twelve lye out from the fronte of the battle. Those in the second ranke, that stand next to their leaders, (loosing foure cubits in the phalange,) have their pikes reaching over the first ranke ten cubits. Those of the third ranke, eight cubits ; of the fourth ranke, six cubits : of the fifth, four cubits ; of the sixth, two cubits.

“ The pikes of the others behind cannot attaine to the first ranke. And seeing five or six pikes are charged over the first ranke, they present a fearful sight to the enemy, and double the strength of the souldier, standing fortified, as it were, with five or six pikes, and seconded with a man's force at his backe. Moreover, they that are placed after the sixth ranke, albeit they push not with their pikes, yet thrusting on with the weight of their bodies, to enforce the strength and power of the phalange, and leave no hope for the file-leaders to flee, or shift away.” \*

I have another motive for giving this extract, and that is, to

\* Tactics of Ælian, page 85.

“ The soldiers laboured under great difficulties while they forced their way up the hill ; but as soon as they had got a little firmer footing, they easily dispersed the multitude of mountaineers that were but half armed.

“ There fell in this action, of the Macedonians, Cleander, who was a captain, and about twenty private men ; of the barbarians, four hundred were slain ; the rest saved themselves by flight, and their knowledge of the country. The king pursued them as fast as troops encumbered with

illustrate and vindicate the scriptural account of the spear of Goliath : “ And the staff of his spear was like a weaver’s beam, and his spear’s head weighed six hundred shekels of iron.” \*

The Macedonian pike was sixteen cubits, and not to be less than fourteen cubits ; that is, from twenty-four to twenty-six feet long, and which must surely appear quite as incredible to modern notions as the spear of the champion of Gath.

How Alexander was himself armed, we are also told in the notes upon Ælian, from Plutarch : “ He had a Sicilian cassock gyrded upon a double linen curace, the spoile of Issus ; his headpiece was of iron, shining like pure silver, the work of Theophilus ; about his neck was an iron gorget besette with precious stones. A sword hee had of wonderful temper and lightnesse, the gift of the Citiean king. Hee wore a bandricke of prowder worke then the rest of his armour, the work of the elder Elicon, and the honour of the Rhodian city.” (page 17.)

\* 1 Sam. xvii. 7.

arms possibly could, and at the same time made himself master of their town." \*

The consul Manlius did not attack the city, but, by ravaging their territory, compelled the Sagalassians to come to terms. They submitted to a contribution of fifty talents, twenty thousand medimni of wheat, and the same quantity of barley.

In the ecclesiastical Notitiæ, Sagalassus holds the second place among the cities of Pisidia, Antioch being the first.

The *Oriens Christianus* gives the following names as Bishops of Sagalassus.

Jovius.

Fonteianus.

Theodosius.

Leo (in the synod under Pope John VIII.)

\* Franshemius's Supplement to Quintus Curtius, vol. i. page 144.

## CHAPTER III.

Leave Aglason—Village of Issarkeuy and castle—Descent through a pine forest—Lose our way, but with a Turcoman guide arrive at Debrè—Turkish stocking-knitters—Mr. Detheir's necromancy—Village of Germè—Ascent to the Acropolis—Ruins—Theatre—Temples—Porticoes—Conjectures on the ancient name—whether Cremna or Selge.

*Thursday, Nov. 15.*—We left Aglason at a quarter before nine; and not being disposed to pay fifty piastres for a guide, we trusted to our own sagacity. Having passed through the plain, or rather valley, we crossed the Cestrus, at half-past nine, by a bridge, on which was a large column with an inscription: with a little attention it might have been read, but we were so anxious for the discovery of Selge, that every thing else was of minor importance.

At ten o'clock we quitted the plain and the river, which runs down a bogaz at the left, and

ascended the mountain. The road was horribly craggy, but ornamented by balsam trees, juniper, and valonea. At half-past ten, we were in a little plain elevated between the mountains: here we observed, in the small dry bed of a stream, a quantity of minute black grains, or sand, resembling *manaccanite*. Our course south-east.

Having passed through hills magnificently clothed with pines, we came to another plain, or plateau, at half-past eleven. Here was a village called Assar Keuy, or Issar Keuy, for they told us there was a castle on the mountain behind the village. We remained here till a quarter before twelve, endeavouring to prevail on some of the villagers to conduct us to Debrè.

A man engaged to do it, but retracted his promise; and we again set out alone, with, as we imagined, ample directions for the road, and the assurance that Debrè was only distant two hours. Our course was south by west till a quarter past twelve, when, quitting the plain, we entered a bogaz, or gorge, between high precipitous mountains.

The bogaz soon expanded into a narrow valley

or ravine, and the road led along the mountain side. Nothing could exceed the grandeur and beauty of this road. Both sides of the ravine were covered with wood—pines, valonea, ilex, arbutus, myrtle, &c.—with the steep, naked mountain peaks towering above on either side. In front, a succession of ridges of mountains, range after range, the most distant covered with snow.

We descended to a great depth in this ravine, seeing, on the right, a curious rock overhanging at a great elevation the ravine, and which exactly resembled a mitred bishop on his throne. Below this we passed what in another season would be the source of a *Catarractes*, flowing down the steep side of the mountain, and forming a small stream in the valley.

We were now in a pine forest, with trees of prodigious size and height; multitudes running up straight enough and high enough to serve for a main-mast of a first-rate ship. Hundreds of these enormous trees lay about, in all directions, torn up by the roots, a terrible evidence of the hurricanes that must sweep along this ravine.

Very low down in the valley, for we were

still descending, we found the wild olive, myrtle, picro daphne, (laurel rose,) planes, and numerous other trees; among these a very common one resembled the pomegranate, but with smaller leaf, more narrow and pointed, and with straight branches. If the leaf had more resembled the quince, we should have taken it for the *styrax*, for the branches were strong enough for arrows, though not long enough for javelins.

Most of the pines had incisions in the bark for the turpentine to distil, and quantities of it were in a hardened, coagulated state upon the trees, and we subsequently saw large heaps at our conac, which is sent to Smyrna, &c. for sale.

Our road became very difficult at this depth of the valley, which descended still to a vastly greater depth, when we providentially met a man driving some asses loaded with wood, who gave us the uncomfortable news that we had taken a wrong road, and instead of arriving at Debrè, as we hoped to do in a few minutes, we had still above an hour to go. The man, a Turcoman, very kindly consented to be our conducteur to the village, though not in his road; and we had great reason for gratitude to God, who had sent

him so opportunely, for we were subsequently told, that the road we had quitted in the valley, goes on without termination even to Adalia, eighteen hours below, without a single house to shelter in all the way.

Leaving the ravine, we now ascended the hill on the right, or in a southern direction, and, at two o'clock, had recovered our way in a tolerably good road. The scenery we now passed through was still of the most strikingly magnificent character.

On a rock, rising out of a valley on the left, wooded on all sides, was a castle called Chackall Kalesi. I looked at it with the telescope, and saw it was built with large uncemented stones ; but one side seemed to be crenellated.

In a valley almost at right angles with the one we quitted, must run the Cestrus,—the ranges of mountains beyond and parallel to it, in endless succession, till lost in snow.

As we approached the village, a high mountain rose on the right, having a large plateau on the summit. Our guide assured us that the ruins we were in pursuit of were on this mountain ; but as it was very near the village, instead of



one hour and a half, as we had been told at Aglason, and as not a single cut stone was to be seen in the cemetery or houses of Debrè as we entered it, we began to feel apprehension that we had either been altogether misinformed, as in our ride to Besh-sheer, or that the ruins were still at a distance.

It was three o'clock when we arrived at Debrè, having been six and a half hours on the road, instead of three, as we had been informed before setting out. To our dismay, as we entered the oda, we were told by all around us, that no ruins were on the mountain nor near it, and we were regretting bitterly our loss of time and labour, when an old chasseur, who came in, cheered us again with the assurance that there really were considerable ruins in the mountain at an hour and a half from hence, and promised to conduct us thither to-morrow.

His son, also a chasseur, who had killed a chamois, or wild goat, of which the skin was displayed in the oda, gave us more circumstantial information. According to him, there was a theatre, and a place where the princesses, seated on tapestry of silk and gold, viewed the combatants.

Our chamber was filled by all the villagers, simple and well-disposed, but curious in the extreme, having never seen a Frank before. It was amusing to see most of them come in, as the countrywomen in Wales on a market day, industriously employed in knitting stockings.

Their mode of working was novel and ingenious ; a small piece of wood, resembling, in form and length, the common tambour-needle, being substituted for the usual needles, and the work seemed to be done quite as expeditiously, though not quite so neatly. Several of them were old white bearded gentlemen, but we were told, that it was absolutely imperative upon all the young Turks to make their own stockings.

Mr. Dethier's capsuled gun and pistols created in Debrè, as they had done all along the road, the most profound astonishment. The precision with which he struck a stone with a ball, from one of the pistols which had neither flint nor match, excited a feeling approaching to awe ; but, when placing the candle on the floor, and standing at some distance, he extinguished the light with his gun, which had neither flint, match, nor powder, nor ball, the impression clearly was, that it was done by necromancy.

We entertained our visitors with coffee, and were heartily glad when they took their leave; an enormous fire and a room more than full of people raising the temperature to more than fever heat. Our dinner again to-day was soup de farine; a dish with eggs and onions; a capital wheat pilau; petmes and cheese.

*Friday, Nov. 16.*—We were so impatient to arrive at the supposed ruins of Selge, that we had scarcely time to prepare medicines for our numerous patients; Mr. Dethier's sorcery of last night having conferred celebrity also on the Hakim bashi.

The ladies of Debrè, in addition to being very good looking, wore a remarkably beautiful head-dress—a large white handkerchief, or short veil, under which, apparently, a red embroidered *fez* with flowers, for we were too distant to distinguish accurately, and across the forehead an ornamented braiding *à la Ferroniere*.

It was twenty minutes before nine when we left the village, accompanied by our young chasseur, armed with a Damascus rifle, pistols, and yatagan, and who yet betrayed some apprehensions of going with us alone.





On Stone by L. Trege

By the Guide, 1875 to the Ring, Gate S

# ACROPOLES at GERNI-OREMINA.

Published by R. Hentley, London, 1874

Having arrived, through pines and fruit trees, at the bottom of the valley, which separates the village from the opposite mountain, at nine o'clock we ascended on the other side. The road was a stony path, in some places nearly perpendicular, through pines of the most magnificent growth; here, too, the effects of the dreadful hurricane were strongly marked in the multitude of trees rooted up, or broken off at different heights from the ground.

The same tree or shrub which we had remarked yesterday, was here in great abundance. The leaf rather resembled that of the tea-tree, though it was not jagged at the edges, and the taste was strongly astringent. The people of Debrè called it Kara-gatch, and told us they used it to make charcoal for their gunpowder. But Kara-gatch, "the black tree," is a name generally given by the Turks, who know nothing of Linnæus, to all trees that do not bear fruit.

We at length arrived at a level space, where stood a hut, and tents of Turcomans; thence the road continued to wind round the base of the acropolis, till we reached the village of Germè at a quarter past ten.

Riding some little way beyond this, we left Milcom and Suleiman with the horses at a fountain, and, accompanied by our guide, mounted the steep hill of the acropolis. We had not ascended far before we came to a small but very fertile level space, belting the basement of the acropolis.

The ascent from hence was difficult, and it was some time before we discovered the road. The appearance of this stupendous acropolis was imposing in the extreme; of enormous height, with precipitous rocks, as if shaped by art. The city walls were seen all along the summit, as well as in various parts of the steep below, in all states of preservation, and of varied construction. Part of them was of very early date, the stones being large and polygonal; the others are for the most part of large squared stone; but there were some of small ones, evidently reparations of a much later date.

About midway up, we saw a beautiful little building, apparently a mausoleum, in the most perfect preservation. It was a small square room abutted against, and partly inserted into the rock, having a handsome doorway. On one of the side

walls were festoons between the heads of Isis, and on the other the same, with the caput bovis between the festoons.

We looked in vain for some inscription to inform us whose memory this beautiful edifice was intended to perpetuate. Nothing appeared upon the spot to convey the smallest information, and I was reminded of the prophet's appropriate words, "What hast thou here? and whom hast thou here, that thou hast hewed thee out a sepulchre here, as he that heweth him out a sepulchre on high, and that graveth an habitation for himself in a rock?"\*

I think there is another part of this chapter, the three last verses, that may be illustrated by a reference to ancient tombs. "I will fasten him as a nail in a sure place; and they shall hang upon him all vessels of small quantity, from the vessels of cups, even to all the vessels of flagons."

"In that day, saith the Lord of hosts, shall the nail that is fastened in the sure place be removed, and be cut down, and fall; and the burden that was upon it shall be cut off: for the Lord hath spoken it."

\* Isaiah xxii. 16.



If the *sure* place can be supposed to mean the sepulchre, or the treasury, and frequently, as in the sepulchres of the kings of Jerusalem, and the tombs of the kings of Pergamus, the sepulchres were converted into treasure houses, then the tombs in the island of Milo will be a happy illustration, within which I have myself seen *nails* fixed all round above the places where the bodies were deposited, and upon these nails were fixed "*vessels of small quantity*," vases of all forms and sizes.\*

Ascending still, we indeed found a Roman sepulchral inscription :

Ἡ πατρίς Τιτον Φλαυνιανὸν Κλέωνα τὸν ἀξιολογωτατον.

"The most praiseworthy Titus Flavianus Cleon is honoured by his native city."

It is barely possible that this is the individual for whom this mausoleum was constructed ; but there is no proof of it.

\* The sepulchres of Suleiman, (see vol. i. p. 88,) resemble those of Milo, and from their immense number, the city might have been named Necropolis, "the city of the dead."

Soon after we entered the acropolis by the great gate, of which two massy arches and the side walls yet remain. On arriving within, we found immense masses of ruins spread over the whole of the space, but too numerous, too much covered by trees and underwood, and in too deranged a state, to enable us to form probable conjectures upon their original plan on so superficial a view.

The most striking objects, perhaps, were a fine gateway at a short distance in front, or rather to the right of the great gate. Within this gateway was an immense heap of finely-sculptured fragments, with numerous columns, apparently about twenty on either side, at six feet distance from each other.

At a little distance beyond, or to the east, though not exactly in the same line, a large wall with two arched recesses walled up. An immense souterrain, the arches communicating one with the other by low square openings just above the ground, lies at no great distance on the left-hand, and the large oblong space above it, with numerous fluted columns and Corinthian fragments, was no doubt the site of a superb temple.

The theatre lies more to the right, much ruined, and about the size of that at Sagalassus. Amidst the heap of the proscenium, and in many other parts of the acropolis, were numerous pedestals, several with inscriptions, but perfectly illegible.

But perhaps the most striking edifice was a colonnade or portico on the left of the great gate of entrance. It was of enormous length; my notes say exceeding a ten minutes' walk, running parallel with the city wall at a short distance within, and having innumerable columns of granite, and apparently a pedestal between each column, with numerous doorways on both sides. The columns were all prostrate; the order here, too, seemed to be Corinthian.

Many of the pedestals had inscriptions, but a single letter or two that were legible, as

ΛΔΗ . . .  
 . . . . NATΩN . . .

only served to tantalize us, and we could not find a single one that assisted in the remotest way to confirm our hopes that we were actually amidst the ruins of Selge.

Mr. Dethier, who took a different direction amidst the low trees from myself, says, he found the remains of another temple, of which fourteen columns were standing; and in another place, what he supposed to have been a triumphal arch.

In fact, immense quantities of ruins are spread about in all directions, but being concealed by the trees, it is difficult to get a sight of them. It is, however, clear that most of the buildings are Roman, and from the quantity of remains constructed with smaller stones, it is evident that in later times this has been a considerable town, perhaps low in the Bas empire.

We made the complete circuit of the acropolis, and were recompensed by a most magnificent view. The acropolis on three sides is a stupendous precipice, clothed beneath the rock with dense masses of pine-trees. On the fourth side it is also steep; but in this direction, though almost unnecessary, are the remains of an immense wall to defend the approach.

It was here I saw some sarcophagi lying about, broken and few in number. From the acropolis the view is of a character difficult to describe. We

saw the ravine through which we had missed our road yesterday, stretching down on the left, the immense naked rocks rising amidst the pine forest like clusters of round towers near it, and a little beyond, the rock on which stands the Chackall kalesi.

Nearly at right angles with this valley is the greater one, in which runs the Cestrus, the bed nearly dry, and parallel with it rise range after range of mountains, the most distant covered with snow. Through an opening in one of the ridges at its southern end, Mr. Dethier saw the *sea* and a plain. This must be between Adalia and Side. The terrace of Sagalassus was also visible, and the steep ridge above it.

We had finished our survey, but we were far from being satisfied ; the day was wearing away, for it was three o'clock. Could we have remained another entire day, it is more than possible that by turning up the numerous pedestals of the portico, we might have found an inscription deciding the name of the city.

We had found important ruins of a city, with an acropolis, worthy to have been the acropolis of Selge. But we had no positive proof

that it was so. We saw numerous trees, of a kind we had never seen before, resembling in leaf the quince, and it might be the styrax ; and certainly the iris, of different colours, particularly yellow, grows on the acropolis itself. But these are only collateral, and not positive proofs. Perhaps better may be drawn from ancient authors.

Selge, which was colonized by the Lacedemonians, was the most important and powerful city of Pisidia, in which province it was anciently placed, though by later authors in Pamphylia. The nature of the country, where it was situated, was so admirable, that though placed on the very heights of Taurus, the fertility of the soil was such as to be adequate to the support of many thousands of people.\* Vineyards and olive-groves, and pasturage for every sort of cattle, were surrounded by forests of every kind of tree.

Selge was indebted greatly to the peculiar nature of its situation for the preservation of its independence. It is said to have been placed near the sources of the Cestrus and Eurymedon.

\* Strabo says there was a time when the inhabitants were twenty thousand.

Strabo certainly says, that these rivers have their sources in the Selgian mountains, and that the territory of Selge is full of precipices, and torrents which flowed into these rivers, thereby rendering it very difficult of access.\*

By this account it could not lie at any great distance on the east, or south-east of Sagalassus, where the Cestrus rises.

By the march of Alexander, it was clearly not far from the city of Termessus, or Telmissus; for his route was from Phaselis to Perga, thence to Side; from Side to Sylleum, and thence to Aspendus, a city of which the lofty acropolis was washed by the Eurymedon. From Aspendus he returned to Perga and to Termessus.

Now, as he was on his march from Perga to besiege Termessus, the Selgians sent to offer terms of peace. Afterwards he proceeded still northward to Sagalassus, described as a small

\*"Ἐχει δ' ὀλιγαῖς προσβάσεις περὶ τὴν πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν τῶν Σελγέων, ορεινὴν κρημνῶν καὶ χαραδρῶν, οὓσαν πλήσῃ, ἃς ποιοῦσιν ἄλλοι τὲ ποταμοὶ, καὶ ὁ Εὐρυμέδων, καὶ Κέστρος, ἀπὸ τῶν Σελγεῶν ὁρῶν εἰς τὴν παμφυλίαν ἐκπίπτονται θαλάσσαν —(Strabo, p 571.)

Page 570 describes the situation and fertility of Selge, the styrax tree, and iris, &c.

city, whereas Selge is called *μεγαλη πολις*. It is clear that Selge, if not in the direct line of march from Termessus to Sagalassus, must have been at a short distance on the right of it.\*

The Notitiæ place Selge in the *first* province of Pamphylia, that is, the most eastern, and include it among Side, Aspendus, Etenna, &c. This certainly removes it too far from Germè, which ought to be in the *second* province, the boundaries of which were the Lycian mountains on the west, nearly straight up at the left of Adalia, which city, with Perga, &c., were in the list of this *second* province, as was also, I believe, Termessus.

Polybius has a long account of a siege of Pednelissus, a city of Pisidia, by the Selgians; from this it appears that Selge lay to the *west* of that city, and, as we have seen, on the frontier, if not actually within, Pamphylia. †

\* Arian, l. 28.

† The city of Pednelissus, which, as we have seen from Strabo, lay above Aspendus on the Eurymedon, was besieged by the Selgians.

“ Achæus sent Garsyeres with an army to their assistance. The Selgians, apprized of his approach, occupy the passes called Climax, (*τα στενα τα περι την καλουμενην Κλιμακα,*)



A more circumstantial account is given by Zosimus, in describing the march of Tribigildus into Pamphylia.

“He resolved to march into Pamphylia, which borders on Pisidia. He there fell into difficult roads, through which his horse could not by any means pass. As no army resisted their progress, an inhabitant of Selge, (a small town of Pamphylia,) named Valentine, who possessed some learning, and was not inexpert in military affairs, collected a band of slaves and peasants, who had

and the approach to Saporda, (την εισβολην την επι Σαπορδα.) Garsyres advances as far as Cretopolis in Mylias, and unable to penetrate farther, pretends to have abandoned the attempt, and appears to be in full retreat.

“The Selgians leaving the passes unguarded, retire to their city. Garsyres immediately takes possession of them, and placing them under the charge of one of his officers, goes down to Perga, and having prevailed on some of the towns of Pisidia and Pamphylia to assist him with their troops, advances against Pednelissus. Subsequently, the Selgians being defeated, fled by the mountain route to their own city. Garsyres follows them so closely, that he had passed the straits, (ἑνσχωρίας,) and was close to the city before the inhabitants could make any preparations to resist him. The city is nearly betrayed by a man called Logbasis, but his treachery being discovered in time, the Selgians preserve their independence. A temple of Jupiter, called Cesbedium, was the acropolis, elevated above the city.”—*Polybius*, lib. 5.

been accustomed to contend with the robbers in that quarter.

“These he posted on the hills above those places where Tribigildus had to march, so that they could see every one who passed that way, without being themselves seen, although the enemy should march past in open day. Tribigildus, and his barbarians, *choosing* the plainest way into the lower part of Pamphylia, and entering in the night into the fields under Selge, the barbarians suffered severely by stones of immense size thrown down upon them.

“They had no way of escape, there being on one side of the road *a deep lake and morasses*, and on the other side a steep, narrow passage, which would scarcely admit two men abreast. This ascent being round and winding, is by the natives called *the Snail*, from its similitude to that animal. In this were placed a sufficient number of men, under Florentius, to obstruct any who should attempt to pass through it.

“The barbarians being blocked up in this place, and great quantities of huge stones constantly thrown at them, they were almost all killed; since they were confined in so small a space,

that the stones which fell from above could not fail to kill some of them. Being therefore in great perplexity, most of them plunged with their horses into the lake, and, to avoid death by the stones, perished in the water.

“Tribigildus, however, with three hundred of his men, ascended the *snail*, when he bribed Florentius, and the guards who were with him, with a vast sum of money, to permit them to pass. Having by this means effected his escape, he suffered the remainder to be utterly destroyed.

“Although Tribigildus concluded that he had thus delivered himself from the danger which Valentine had brought on him, yet he presently fell into far greater peril than the former. Almost all the inhabitants of the *several towns*, arming themselves with whatever was in their reach, *inclosed* him, and the three hundred men who had escaped with him, *between* the rivers Melanes and Eurymedon, one of which runs above Side, and the other through Aspendus.”\*

It is clear, by this account, that Selge lay between the Cestrus and the Eurymedon, that, in escaping, Tribigildus crossed the latter river,

\* Zosimus, book v. page 142.

and was then inclosed between it and the Melas. As no other river is mentioned between the Eurymedon and the Melas, this is additional proof of the accuracy of the Archbishop of Pisidia's information, of the Eurymedon dividing into two branches before it falls into the sea, the most eastern branch being the river without a name mentioned by Strabo.

Now as there was a *lake* near Selge, and as it lay *between* the Cestrus and Eurymedon, the ruins at Germè can scarcely be supposed to be those of that city. The lake, and the winding ascent called the *Snail*, would better correspond with the *lake* from which the Duden is said to issue ; and being at a short distance to the east of the ruins considered to be those of Termessus, Selge might be thought to be connected with this lake, if the strong objection of its being on the east side of the Cestrus did not lie against it.

In my first journey, I hazarded the conjecture that Selge would probably be found in the triangle formed by Sagalassus, Eyerdir, and Isbarta. Built originally by the Lacedemonians, it seems from that circumstance to be connected with

Isbarta, pronounced now, and in the days of Lucas, Sparta. The numerous silver medals of Selge, which I have seen at Isbarta and Bourdour, seem to prove that Selge cannot be very remote.

Among other information that the good people of Debrè gave us, we were told that four leagues from Debrè, in the direction of Eyerdir, are considerable remains called Malek Kalesi, near which is a *lake*, with an island in it. If this be not a Seljukian fortress, like that at Eyerdir, it is probably an ancient Pisidian town; and if not too far north, the lake would support the conjecture that it might be Selge.

This site of Malek Kalesi agrees with the account I had from a Greek of Isbarta, that there were ruins, with a small lake, on a mountain at the east or south-east of Isbarta.

There are, however, stronger reasons for supposing the ruins at Germè to be those of the town of Cremna; and such is the opinion of the best authority on the subject, Colonel Leake, who thinks that even the name Germè may be only a corruption of Cremna.

Strabo says that Cremna had long been considered to be impregnable; but it was at length taken by Amyntas, with some other places, in his wars with the Pisidians. This fortress was afterwards considered of such military consequence by the Romans, that they established a colony there.\*

Certainly, the stupendous acropolis of Germè, a terrific precipice on three sides, would agree well with the description of Cremna, which derives

\* *Αμύντας . . . πολλά χωρία εξείλαν ἀπόρθητα πρότερον ὄντα ὧν καὶ Κρήμνα. Το δὲ Σανδάλιον οὐδ' ἐνεχείρησε βία προσάγεσθαι, μεταξὺ κείμενον τῆς τε Κρήμνης καὶ Σαγαλασσῶν. Τὴν μὲν οὖν Κρήμναν ἱπποικοὶ Ῥωμαίων ἔχουσι. Σαγαλασσὸς δ' ἐστὶν ὑπὸ τῷ ἡγεμόνι Ῥωμαίων, ὃς ὧς καὶ ἡ Ἀμύντου Βασιλεία πᾶσα. διεχει δ' Ἀπαμείας ἡμέρας ὁδὸν, κατὰ βασιν ἔχουσα σχεδὸν τι καὶ τριακοντα σταδίων ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐρυσματος· καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν καὶ Σελγησσον.—Strabo, 569.*

*Οἱ Σελγεῖς οὐπὲρ εἰσὶν ἀξιολογώτατοι τῶν Πισιδῶν. Τὸ μὲν οὖν πρέον αὐτῶν μέρος ταὶ ἀκρωρεῖται τοῦ Ταυρου κατέχει τινὲς δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ Σίδης καὶ Ασπένδου, Παμφυγικῶν πόλεων, κατέχουσι γεώλοφα χωρία, ἐλαιόφυτα παντὰ δ' ὑπὲρ τούτων ὄρεινὰ ἤδη, Κατεννεῖς, ὕμοροι Σελγεῦσι καὶ Ομοναδεῦσε.—Strabo, p. 569.*

*Τοῖς δ' ἐπὶ Πισιδέων λιπαρὸν πέδιον, ἦχι πόλῃες*

*Τερμισσὸς Δύρβη τε καὶ ἡ ἐπολίσσατο λαὸς*

*Πρὶν ποτ' Ἀμυκλαίων, μεγαλῶνυμος ἐν χθονὶ Σελγη.*

*Dionys. Per. v. 858.*

its name from that very peculiarity of position ; but it must be confessed that there is an objection to be overcome.

Strabo, in his account of the relative situation of Sagalassus and Cremna, is supposed to say, according to the French translation of Coray's Edition, " Cremna is in the present day occupied by a Roman colony ; Sagalassus is under the same Roman officer who governs all the country heretofore belonging to king Amyntas ; this city is at the distance of one day's journey from Apamea, and thirty stadia below the fortress" of *Cremna*.

If this be a correct translation, Cremna would clearly be on the north side of Sagalassus, and in that case, the remains we noticed between Sagalassus and Isbarta might be those of Cremna. But as Sagalassus is *more* than a day's journey from Apamea, I suspect something is omitted—and I can see no reason for making the word *εργυματος* apply to Cremna.

The longitudes and latitudes of Ptolemy are held in very light estimation ; I would, however, request any one to look at the map, and now that the positions of Apamea, Apollonia, and

Antioch of Pisidia are established, let him compare them with the positions of Ptolemy, and see how nearly in relative position they approach the truth. Apamea is placed at 61. 10, and Antioch of Pisidia in 62. 30, making the distance between them eighty miles, and Strabo says it was seventy-five. Cremna is placed in 63, and 37. 50, and Apamea 61. 10, and 38. 56, or fifty-six miles to the south of Apamea. This, measured in direct distance, would be below Sagalassus, and exactly on the site of the ruins of Germè.

But the history of Zosimus again supplies us with additional evidence.

“ There was an Isaurian named Lydius, who had been a robber from his youth, and with a gang like himself had committed depredations throughout Pamphylia and Lycia. This gang being attacked by the soldiers, Lydius not being able to oppose the whole Roman army, retreated to a place in Lycia, called Crymna, which stands on a precipice, and is secured on one side by large and deep ditches.

“ Finding many who had fled there for refuge, and observing that the Romans were very intent



on the siege, and that they bore the fatigue of it with great resolution, he pulled down the houses, and making the ground fit for tillage, sowed corn for the maintenance of those that were in the town. But the number being so great that they were in need of much more provision, he turned out of the place all that were of no service, both male and female. The enemy perceiving his design, forced them back again; on which Lydius threw them headlong into the trenches that surrounded the walls, where they died.

“Having done this, he constructed a mine, from the town beyond the enemy’s camp, through which he sent persons to steal cattle and other provisions. By these means he provided for the besieged a considerable time, until the affair was discovered to the enemy by a woman. Lydius, however, still did not despond; but gradually retrenched his men in their wine, and gave them a smaller allowance of corn. But this not answering the end, he was at length driven to such straits, that he killed all that were in the town, except a few of his adherents, sufficient as he thought to defend it.

“But when he had resolved to persevere against

all dangers, there happened at length this accident. There was with him, in the town, a man who was expert in making engines, and in using them with such dexterity, that when Lydius ordered him to shoot a dart at any of the enemy, he never missed his aim. It happened that Lydius had ordered him to hit a particular person, when either accidentally, or on purpose, he missed, for which he stripped and scourged him severely, and moreover, threatened him with death.

“ The man was so exasperated on account of the blows he had received, and so affrighted at the menaces, that he took an opportunity to steal out of the town ; and falling in with some soldiers, to whom he gave an account of his actions and sufferings, he showed them an aperture in the wall, through which Lydius used to inspect all that was done in their camp, and promised them to shoot him as he was looking through it in his usual manner.

“ The commander of the expedition on this took the man into favour, who, having planted his engine, and placed some men before him that he might not be discovered by the enemy, took aim at Lydius as he looked through the aperture, and

with a dart shot him and gave him a mortal wound. He had no sooner received this wound, than he became still more strict with some of his own men. Having enjoined them upon oath never to surrender the place, he expired with much struggling.”\*

In this relation Crymna is said to be in Lycia, whereas clearly the ruins of Germè, if not, in Pamphylia, are on its frontier. But this is of little consequence, for Crymna and Cremna are clearly the same places, and perhaps the mistake of Zosimus arose from Lycia being placed, at the time he wrote, and long previous, under the proconsul of Pamphylia.

There is still a considerable difficulty in understanding to what the passage of Strabo, “this city is about thirty stadia lower down than the fortress,” refers. If by the city is meant Sagalassus, as there can be little doubt, either the fortress cannot be Cremna, or the ruins at Germè are not the ruins of that place—for instead of thirty stadia, that is, near four miles, the distance is at least fifteen miles.

Again, Sandalium, another fortress of consi-

\* Hist. of Zosimus, book i. p. 33.

derable strength, because Amyntas did not attempt to take it, was said to lie *between* Sagalassus and Cremna. Now, if these two cities were only at the short distance of thirty stadia from each other, it is hardly conceivable that Sandalium should be between them ; but if Cremna be rearily at Germè, perhaps the *castle* on the mountain behind Issar-keuy may be Sandalium.

What the ancient name of Chackall-kalesè may have been, I will not venture to conjecture.

If, after all, the ruins of Germè should not be those of Cremna, they will be probably those of Cormasa, Isionda or Cretopolis.

Cremna was placed among the dioceses in the *second* province of Pamphylia, which is certainly in favour of its position at Germè. The only bishop whose name has been preserved is *Theodorus*.

## CHAPTER IV.

Descent from the Acropolis of Germè—Road to, and arrival at, the Cassaba of Bujak—Motive for Turkish hospitality—Probable situation of Perga, Lystra, and Derbe—Leave Bujak—Pilgrims from the Crimea—Arrival at Bourdour—Zeal for education among Greeks and Turks—Ancient city, whether Lysinoe or Cretopolis—Rev. Joseph Wolff—Road from Aglason to Bourdour, and description of the town.

OUR good friend Kyriacos declaring that he had seen quite enough old stones to satisfy his antiquarian appetite, had long ago separated from us. At three o'clock, Mr. Dethier and I having in vain strained our lungs in calling for him and the guide, in every possible direction, began our descent from the acropolis. We were in doubt about the road, and in greater about finding our horses; but with the direction of another kind Turcoman we regained the road near Germè, but our horses were no longer at the fountain.

Concluding they had advanced on the road to

Bujak, we proceeded, seeing close on our left a square edifice of large uncemented blocks, which we had no time to examine accurately. We had no means of ascertaining if our horses had preceded us, but by tracing the marks of their feet, not an easy matter in a stony and dry road.

We were employed in this way for some time, when an old Turk told us there were some horses before us. We quickened our pace, and had the good fortune to find our party, including Kyriacos, comfortably seated near a fountain. The guide had long set out for Debrè, dissatisfied to have been kept so long without his dinner.

We had still two hours and a half to Bujak ; (or Bujah ; ) it was half past four o'clock ; and we were, without a guide, among the hauteurs of Mount Taurus ; but there was no alternative, and therefore nothing very bold in the determination to proceed.

For the first hour, the road was a *broken rock* through pine forests as before. Afterwards it improved, but soon grew too dark to judge of it, though the wheel track of *Arabahs* showed that it was not only a passable road, but one which led to some human habitation.

As it was an almost continued descent, I scarcely mounted my horse all the way from the fountain, and we were all calculating upon the best mode of passing the night under a pine tree, when the lights of the Cassaba of Bujak burst suddenly upon us, and cheered us all so much, that Milcom and Suleiman called out for a *backshish*. We were soon there, arriving at half-past six; and were lodged in an oda, favoured with the society of some excellent, kind-hearted, unobtrusive Turks. A wheat pilau, and hard eggs, followed by a partridge, shot by Mr. Dethier, soon restored us.

It would be both ungrateful and unjust to detract in the remotest manner from the noble charity to which the way-worn, destitute, and fainting traveller is indebted so much in every town and village of Asia Minor; and therefore it is with no other object than to relieve the dryness of a travelling journal, that I venture to say the Turks have another motive for their hospitality,

According to a very ancient and generally received tradition, too firmly established in the mind of every good Mussulman to be doubted for a

moment, the arrival of every stranger under his roof brings *nine* good fortunes to the proprietor and his family. Of these, the stranger is supposed to devour one, but eight still remain for the good of the oda.

We, being five in number, of course were the welcome bearers of forty-five good fortunes ;— and admitting that, as our appetites were excellent, we did ample justice to five, forty still are the riches of the oda bashi. It is no wonder, then, that we and our host were the best possible friends.

Bujak is still a considerable village, or rather a small town, but formerly had one thousand houses. It is divided, part being on the mountain side, and the larger part in the plain with four mosques. The distances were, from Adalia eighteen hours, Isbarta eight, Aglason four, Bourdour eight, and Sousou one and a half.

So near Adalia, (Satalia,) I would willingly have gone there, examined the ruins of Perga, and returned by the southern coast through Lycia to Smyrna. The temptation was strong, almost irresistible ; but here the prudence of my



good friend Dethier again opposed successful objections.

It was true, that a week more or less was not a great extension of time; but an additional week in this season might bring on the winter floods, and how get over the deluged plains after they fell? Again, the Egyptian army, and the sultan's troops, might not always be so agreeable to travellers as when in the barrack of Isbarta.

It was, however, some consolation to know that if we did not visit the ruins of Perga, yet their situation is placed beyond doubt, by Colonel Leake's account of the ruins seen by General Koehler, on the Cestrus, west of Stavros.

Perga is described by Strabo as being on the banks of the river Cestrus, which was navigable as far as that city, though at the distance of sixty stades or seven miles and half from the sea. By the expression in the account of St. Paul's voyage, "when Paul and his company loosed from Paphos, they came to Perga in Pamphylia," it would seem that they landed at or near the city; but the entrance of the river has long been impass-

able, being at present closed by a *bar*. Near Perga, in a lofty situation, was the temple of Diana Pergæa, where a religious assembly was held every year.

When General Koehler was coming from Stavros to Adalia, at the end of the first two hours, and four hours from Adalia, he crossed a large and rapid stream, (the Cestrus,) by a ferry, a little beyond which, appeared on the left, the ruins called by the Turks, Eski-kalesi, where are great remains of walls and vaulted buildings. These are considered by Colonel Leake to be the ruins of Perga, agreeing with Strabo's description of its position on the Cestrus, and distance from the sea.

Perga is mentioned in the Notitiæ, and as the metropolis of Pamphylia. In the tabular itinerary, there is a road from Laodicea to Perga, by Themisonium and Cormasa, which will be hereafter noticed. It was at Perga that John, surnamed Mark, withdrew himself from Paul and Barnabas, and returned to Jerusalem, occasioning thereby the subsequent separation between those apostles.\*

\* Acts xiii. 13, and xv. 39.

The two other towns, the scenes of St. Paul's labours and persecution, Lystra and Derbe, may be also considered as nearly discovered, if not actually so.

The following extract from the journal of Colonel Leake, will show what was the opinion of that eminent geographer.

“ Derbe and Lystra have been immortalised by the sacred writer of the Acts of the Apostles. About the middle of the century preceding the birth of Christ, Derbe was the residence of an independent chief, or robber, as Strabo calls him, named Antipatrus, who possessed also Laranda. Antipatrus having been slain by Amyntas, king of Galatia, Derbe fell into the power of the latter, who had already received Isauria from the Romans, upon its reduction by Servilius.”

Amyntas conquered all Pisidia, as far as Apollonias, near Apamea Cibotus; but having fallen in fighting with the Homonadenses, his dominions devolved to the Romans; who having not long afterwards succeeded also to those of Archelaus, king of Cappadocia, made a new distribution of these provinces, in which Derbe, was the *wes-*

*tern* extremity of the Cilician prefecture of Cappadocia.

Strabo, from whom we learn most of the preceding facts, observes in another place, that Derbe was on the Isaurian frontier of Cappadocia. But it must also have been on the frontier of Lycaonia; for about the same time St. Luke calls both Derbe and Lystra cities of Lycaonia. About a century afterwards, we find that Derbe had been separated from the Cilician prefecture of Cappadocia, and that it formed, together with Laranda and the adjacent part of Mount Taurus, which contained Olbasa, a separate district called Antiochiana; which Ptolemy places between Lycaonia and the Tyanitis.

From all the circumstances, there seems no doubt that Derbe stood in the great Lycaonian plain, not far from the Cilician Taurus, on the Cappadocian side of Laranda; a situation precisely agreeing with that of the ruins called the thousand and one churches of Mount Kara-dagh. These ruins have never been visited, or at least described, by any modern traveller; it is impossible, therefore, to say, whether there be any *lake* near these ruins, which will support the conjecture,

that the word *λιμὴν*, used by Stephanus in speaking of Derbe, may be altered into *λίμνη*; for without this change, the word can have no meaning.

“Lystra appears to have been nearer than Derbe to Iconium; for St. Paul, leaving that city, proceeds first to Lystra, and from thence to Derbe; and in like manner returns to Lystra, to Iconium, and to Antiochia of Pisidia. And this seems to agree with the arrangement of Ptolemy, who places Lystra in Isauria, and near Isaura, which seems evidently to have occupied some part of the valley of Sidy-sheer, or Bey-sheer.

“Under the Greek empire, Homonades, Isaura, and Lystra, as well as Derbe and Laranda, were all in consular province and Lycaonia, and were bishopricks of the metropolitan see of Iconium. The similarity of name induced me at first to believe that Lystra was situated at the modern Illisera; but we find, as well in the civil arrangement of the cities in Hierocles, as in two ecclesiastical lists in the *Notitiæ Episcopatum*, that Lystra and Ilistra were distinct places. I am inclined to think that the vestiges of Lystra may be sought for with the greatest probability

of success at or near Wiran Khatown, or Khatown Serai, about thirty miles southward of Iconium." \*

Since the publication of Colonel Leake's valuable work, the ruins called Bin bir Kilisa, "the thousand and one churches," supposed by Colonel Leake to be the site of Derbe, have been visited by Count Laborde and Dr. Hall; and, on examination, the supposition was considered altogether unfounded. If such was the opinion of the latter gentleman, than whom no one is more competent to decide the question, we must look for Derbe elsewhere.

It must be admitted, that in every inquiry of this nature, the tradition of the church should have great weight; and in the account of the *Αρχιεπισκοπία* of Iconium by the patriarch Cyril, Derbe is *positively* said to be on the mountain slope beyond Derbent Bogaz, nine hours from Iconium, and that the ruins are actually yet in existence in that place.†

\* Colonel Leake's Journal, page 101.

† Τὸ Μπάσαρ χωρίον πέντε ὥρας ἀφιστάμενον τοῦ Ἰκονίου, ἑνὶ ὥρᾳ ἔμπροσθεν, ἐν χάνι ἐρείπιον εἰς τὸ στόμιον τοῦ Δερβέντ ποταμοῦ καὶ ἑνὶ ὥρᾳ τὸ χωρίον Δερβέντι. αἰὼν ἔτι

We have not equally good grounds for fixing the situation of Lystra, but there is some reason for believing that the remains at Kara hissar, near the lake Bey sher, mentioned in the Itinerary of Jacoub Bey, may be those of that place, should they not be where Colonel Leake supposes, at Wiran Khatown, or Khatown Serai.

*Saturday, Nov. 17.*—The son of the oda bashi, a fine, active, attentive little lad, came into our apartment long before day, and lighted the fire, disturbing our slumbers, and almost roasting and suffocating me, as my bed was close to the chimney. Mr. Dethier rose before us, and returned at breakfast with a couple of woodcocks. Having prescribed for our kind host's wife and four children, we mounted our horses at ten minutes after nine. The road led through a plain, in a north direction.

τὴν ὀφρῦν τοῦ ἔργου εἶναι τὰ ἐρείπια τῆς πάλαι Δέρβης λεγομένης, πῶλεως.

If these are not really the ruins of the Derbe of St. Paul, it may possibly have stood at a place, in Major Rennel's Map, called Olu Dervine, between Erekli and Karabunar; and a lake, at no great distance, called Ghioul Bashi, adds plausibility to the conjecture.

We saw some tombs in the rocks on the right,\* and at ten minutes before ten, crossed a river, the ground soon after on a gentle ascent. A mill lay on the right, and the river, the Agasderesi-chay, flowed along the road side, with the stream towards the south. We remained at another mill till twenty-five minutes before eleven, while Mr. Dethier went in pursuit of the wild ducks, with which the place abounded.

Here we discovered that, thanks to Suleiman, whose head was not a geographical one, we were out of the road ; but we soon regained it, and at eleven o'clock crossed a bridge, near which, on the left, are small remains of an old wall. We are now in another plain, and, at ten minutes after twelve, arrived at Tshaltighi, the river lying again along the road at the left.

This is the village mentioned in the journal of General Koehler, who says, "the people appeared simple and hospitable, and welcomed the travellers by presents of fruit and flowers, which they threw down at their feet, and then departed

\* These are on the steep side of a high mountain, and evidence that some town was probably on the summit, or at the back of it. Could this have been Cormasa or Isionda ?



without saying a word." We did not enter the village, and therefore had not the same attentions shown to us. Very soon after, the village of Utch-keuy, (three villages,) lay a little on the left. At one o'clock we left the plain, and ascended the mountain.

We had been for some time past on the great road from Constantinople to Adalia: we had now a proof of it; for we met a man of extraordinary mien and costume, walking with a long straight sword in a case, which served him both for *báton* and *épée*. He wore a round twisted turban, differing from any I had seen. A few minutes after, followed a numerous party on horseback, all bearing a national peculiarity of visage and mien, which was neither Turkish nor European. They were Turks from the Crimea, going on a pilgrimage to Mecca.\*

At a quarter before two, having ascended considerably, we came to a plain or plateau; and,

\* In default of male issue of the reigning family at Constantinople, the person next in immediate succession, is the sultan of the Tartars, who has long embraced Christianity, the sultaness being a lady from Scotland. A *Christian* on the throne of Mahomet! Should such an event take place, we shall have no more pilgrimages to Mecca.

at two o'clock stopped to refresh ourselves and horses, at the spot where a source passes through a hole under the mountain,—the source, doubtless, or one of them, of the river we have seen to-day.\*

We mounted again at half-past two, and the road leading over a plain, nearly north, it was joined, at a quarter before four, by the road on the right, leading from Aglason. The cold became painful, and the night surprised us as we passed, in the valley, the village of Cornar.

We travelled over a bad road, crossing the river again, and again, and again, almost in perfect darkness, except when occasional flashes of lightning (in a clear atmosphere without clouds) showed us the extraordinary formation of the sand hills, or petrified lands, through which we

\* Perhaps the Agas derisi-chay is the river called, by the Consul Manlius, the *Colobatus*, after passing the sources of the Lyses, where he received the deputation from the neighbouring town of Isionda. The subterranean course of the stream seems to be alluded to in the word *Colobatus*, and offers some plausibility for identifying the Agas derisi-chay with the Duden or Catarractes, supposing it to be subterranean in its course from Karabonar till it re-issues from the lake below.

passed. General Koehler compared them to enormous sand-pits; and, in my first journey, they reminded me strongly of an ancient mine in Cornwall, called Cargleaze,—not a shaft mine, but an open one, resembling a quarry of immense size.

It was half-past six when we arrived at Bourdour. The night, though our beds were doubly covered, excessively cold. My friend, Dr. Anastasius, was on a medical tour in the country, and I presume his tin case of pills, and enormous stag's horn, accompanied him as a matter of course.

*Sunday, Nov. 18.*—While Mr. Dethier went to take a view of the extraordinary *hauteurs* about the town, Kyriacos, having bought some kid, and carried it to the kabobji to be baked, walked with me to the Greek quarter, and we first paid our respects to the house of the papas. He was not at home, but we found his mother, a very old, infirm woman, and, though on a Sunday, nearly in rags.

She showed us the church, plentifully supplied with paintings, of which the birth and death of the *Panagia*, the patroness of the church, were

among the most conspicuous. The *Thauma*, or miracles of St. Michael the Archangel at Chonas, (Colossæ,) held also a distinguished place. There were some marble capitals, perhaps of the earliest times of the Bas empire, placed as pedestals to the columns.

Mr. Balli, of Isbarta, had given us a letter for a respectable Greek merchant. We called upon him, and found the two priests, and some of the principal Greeks of Bourdour. Inquiring if there was a school, we were told that there were two ; one Ellenic, but discontinued for some years from the want of a proper master ; the other, a school of *mutuel enseignement*, supported by the person we were now visiting, his father having endowed it, and left it in charge to the son.

The young priest was the master ; the number of scholars about eighty. We saw the school-room, well fitted up, and provided on the walls with a set of printed tables. As they were altogether without school books, I promised to send some from Smyrna, with a few Testaments, Greek and Turkish.\*

\* Volumes have been written on the question, whether Dr. Bell, or Mr. Lancaster, is to have the honour of the inven-

Our last visit was to a very respectable and well-informed young man, the son of the Archbishop of Pisidia, who had married the sister of the person we had visited. His little girl was ill, after an unsuccessful inoculation, and we prepared some medicines for her, and for the four children of our other friend, suffering much from the hooping-cough.

Intellect is marching even at Bourdour. Education seems to be much more general here than elsewhere ; numerous Turks being employed on their shop-boards in teaching young men to write.

The Greek priest told me, my former calculation of four thousand Turkish houses was too small ; that there are between five and six thousand. The fountains, without number, reminded me of Isbarta, and gave an amiable picture of Turkish charity. Returning from the Greek quarter, Kyriacos admired, with me, a very long  
tion of the system of *mutuel enseignement*. It is, perhaps, not generally known, if known at all, that this system was actually in use at the great seat of ancient learning, Athens, one hundred and fifty years ago, as may be seen by referring to a small volume, in French, called "Athenes Ancienne et Moderne." I have left it in Smyrna, and can neither recollect the author's name, nor the exact date.

avenue of large willow trees; not a very picturesque tree in England, but here, from its growth and numbers, producing a very pleasing effect. The vineyards are very extensive, and the wine, made of course only by the Greeks, excellent.

We were told that the *ancient* site of the city was among the *vineyards*, and that, at a village one hour and a half on the road to Isbarta, there are tombs in the rocks, and other remains. Lucas says he saw considerable remains among the vineyards, and particularly mentions a temple nearly buried, as if by earthquake.\*

If Bourdour really occupies the site of Lysinoe, it is extraordinary that no *medals* of that city should be found there, or rather brought from

\* “ Les gens du pays assurent qu'elle étoit dix fois plus grande, et qu'elle s'appelloit *Caragacia*; et on n'a pas de peine à le croire lorsqu'on sort à la campagne, ou l'on trouve plusieurs ruines dans les vignes qui sont aux environs; j'y vis un temple presque entier; mais qui est si enfoncé dans la terre, qu'on n'y peut entrer que par les fenêtres, et un autre où il n'y a que la voûte qui paroît. Il y a grand apparence que cette ville a été détruite par quelque tremblement de terre, ou, selon la tradition du pays, par un deluge d'eau, qui submergea cette ville, et l'entraîna dans le lac, où l'on voit encore des ruines.” — *Lucas's Travels*, vol. i. page 245.

thence, a place of such importance, and such a thoroughfare. But the medals usually brought from that neighbourhood, especially from Isbarta, are principally of Selge, Perga, Side, Sagalassus, Isionda, Termessus, and sometimes Claudiopolis, Baris, and a medal with ΚΡΗ, Cremna, or Cretopolis.

Though the finding the medals on a particular spot is not positive evidence that the city to which they belonged actually stood on that site, yet the *total absence* of such medals is more than negative proof, that a place has been wrongly appropriated. It is singular that no medals have yet been found of Lysinoe, Cormasa, and several other places in the march of the Consul Manlius ; and it was but very recently that my friend Mr. Borell met with medals of Bubon and Balbura.

To suppose that Bourdour is the modern representative of the ancient city of Lysinoe, certainly does seem irreconcilable with the march of the Consul Manlius. He was on his march upwards from Pamphylia ; and when *he had passed the lake*, the authorities from Lysinoe surrendered the city. Now, surely, if by this *lake* is to be understood the lake of Bourdour, he would not

have passed this important place without compelling its surrender.

If Bourdour be not Lysinoe, it is probably Cretopolis; and the medals with the letters ΚΡΗ, which I have seen both there and at Isbarta, probably belong to that city.

The Archbishop of Pisidia, in whose diocese Bourdour lies, writes the name Bouldour, and he is more likely to be correct; and a letter which I received three years since from a person not so high in the church as an archbishop, but probably much more known than many archbishops, writes also Bouldour. This is the Rev. Joseph Wolff, to whose devotedness of heart and soul to the great object of his many journeyings I bear ready testimony, though not always to the correctness of his judgment.

At the time to which I have alluded, he had embarked at Alexandria for the coast of Syria; but the master of the vessel having learnt that the plague was raging there, refused to proceed. Mr. Wolff was landed at Adalia, thence to find his way as he best could, either by land to Jerusalem, or Constantinople.

He determined on the latter; but his letters



of credit were not negotiable at Adalia, where there were no Europeans ; and how was he to perform such a journey without a sixpence—without a horse—without a guide? His letter to me describes his situation. He had contrived to reach Bouldour, and he was resolved, *Deo volente*, to get to Constantinople : and arrive there he did ; and shortly after set out on the extraordinary journey to Bokhara, &c., from which he is recently returned !

At my first visit to Bourdour, or Bouldour, in 1826, I came from Aglason. I subjoin my notes of that journey, and some observations on the town.

“ Before Aglason lies a small plain, almost encircled by mountains, and full of walnut and other trees. Our route was at first north-west by north ; at half-past eight we came to a mill with a village on our right, on the slope of the mountain. At a quarter before nine, having passed through a small but beautiful grove of walnuts supporting vines, poplars, &c., we crossed a river flowing down from the right ; and in a few minutes crossed another stream, flowing in the same direction. We had now reached the

head of the plain, and entered a defile between the mountains ; course as before ; a strong stream rushes down with much noise through this defile. At a quarter past nine crossed this stream and turned to the left, another stream being by the road's side, which united below with the first. The mountains on both sides were high and steep, ornamented with low shrubs resembling cedars of dwarfish size. Our course was now west ; and at a quarter before ten we began to descend by a road narrow and rocky. Near the bottom, a considerable body of water gushed out from under the mountain on the right ; and a little below on the left was a small level spot, on which were heaps of squared stones. Our road soon lay along the hill side, having a narrow plain on the left ; and at half past ten a village, with vestiges of ancient remains, lay on the right ; while a small river flowed along the narrow plain on the left. At eleven o'clock, our course west-north-west, we came to a village on the right called Cheenay. At a quarter past eleven, the plain which had been hitherto parallel with our road terminated, or rather united with another much wider and more extensive, at right angles.

Our road through this plain was due north. A mountain of remarkable form, which might be called a saddleback mountain, partly covered with snow, formed part of the boundary of the plain on the left. At twenty minutes after twelve we crossed a considerable river, and near it an old burial-ground with fragments much decayed. A few minutes after arrived at the end of the plain, and began to descend steeply; the remains of an ancient paved road lay on the right, and at a short distance below it a village with some remains. We had no time to examine them, nor to ascertain how far they might agree in situation with the town of Lysinoe and the river Lyses. Turning to the left, our course was again west, and we almost immediately crossed the same stream by a bridge near a spot of green turf as soft as velvet, on which many poor Turks, who had a long string of asses loaded with charcoal and wood for the town of Bourdour, were performing their ablutions and prayers. In a Mahometan country, how often will the traveller be put to the blush by contrasting his own indifference, if not total neglect, of religious duty with the piety of the Turk, who, be he where he

may, and employed as he may, instantly abstracts himself from the world, at the stated hours of prayer, to fall upon his knees. Our road now lay along the mountain side, and the same river continued to flow downwards on the left, and at one o'clock it fell in a sheet over an ancient wall. The rocks, or rather immense hills, for there was little or no stone, were all calcareous, and of a dirty white—their forms reminded me strongly of Cargleaze tin mine in Cornwall; not a shaft mine, but an open one, resembling a quarry of immense size.\*

“ The scene was desolate in the extreme; not the smallest vestige of vegetation, either grass or tree, was to be seen on these immense hills which rose on every side; and the half moon appearing over them just at the moment, seemed an emblem of the withering and blasting influence of the Turkish crescent over these once christian countries. After crossing a bridge over the same river, and our course north-west by north, we entered the town of Bourdour at half past one,

\*“ Hereabout Mr. A.'s route joins that of General Koehler, who compared the same scene to ‘enormous sand pits.’”—*Note by Col. Leake.*

and were agreeably surprised to see beautiful gardens and rich vineyards, elegant minarets, &c. and a very large and populous town, beyond which lay the lake, of a beautiful blue colour.

“Bourdour (or Burdur) is said to contain four thousand Turkish houses, one hundred and fifty Greek, and thirty Armenian; the bazaars were crowded, and it appeared to be a place of considerable trade. From Colonel Leake we learn that tanning and dyeing of leather, weaving and bleaching of linen, employ the chief part of the population. The wine of Bourdour appeared to us to be peculiarly fine. It was not very unlike Frontigniac, and it derives its excellence, no doubt, from the extraordinary soil about the town. I saw a few medals; they were all of Selge and Perga; while examining them, I was surprised to be addressed by a Turk in bad English and good Italian. He afterwards paid us a visit at the khan, when I found he was a slave-proprietor, conducting about a dozen males and females, then in an adjoining apartment, to Constantinople for sale. He told us he came from Egypt, but that these unhappy victims were from Barbary; their colour, however, bespoke

them natives of the interior of Africa; and the man admitted, that not unfrequently he had slaves from even beyond Timbuctoo. The price in Egypt was from sixty to seventy dollars; while at Constantinople it varied from fifteen hundred to two thousand piastres; that is, at the present exchange, from one hundred and twenty-five to one hundred and seventy dollars. They had been landed at Kakava, to the westward of Satalia; and had been ten days in performing the journey to Bourdour, part of the road lying over immense mountains covered with snow. We learnt that Memet Ali had a regular and constant communication with Constantinople by the same route; his dispatches being first conveyed by packet vessels to Kakava. A traffic in human flesh is in any shape so revolting to the feelings of an Englishman, that he can scarcely think of it without strong irritation; and yet, after all, the slave of a Turk has many advantages of situation above that of a Christian. I must be understood to mean slaves such as those we saw at Bourdour, professing the same faith. Like the year of jubilee among the Jews, the seventh year releases the captive, and the purchase is always

made upon that express condition—a condition also enforced by the Koran. A Christian is not permitted to purchase a Mahometan slave, at least not at Constantinople or Smyrna, though it is a frequent practice at Alexandria and Cairo.

“ We had a narrow escape this afternoon. A well-dressed Turk paid us a visit, introduced by a Greek professor of medicine. We discovered the nature of his disorder just in time to avoid a fellow suffering, and as it does not bear the most reputable character in genteel society, we had great reason to be thankful.

“ The Greek doctor requested me to accompany him to his shop, an apartment in the khan well filled with bottles and other evidences of the profound science of the professor. He candidly admitted that he knew no more of medicine than he had learnt from an old tattered Greek pharmacopœia ; that the bottles were more for show than use ; and his grand catholicon was a pill, producing at the same moment a tin case containing at least two okes (five pounds) of pills. They were not, however, like the doctor’s at Tocat, covered with gold-leaf ; but, if not composed of bread and water, they were quite as

unlikely to be of any service. I ventured to suggest sulphur as the best remedy for his unfortunate patient, but he would hear of nothing but his pills, and perhaps he was right : sulphur was not always to be had ; but he might say, and in effect did reply to me, in the words of the doctor of Tocat to Hadji Baba, ‘ as long as there is bread and water to be had, I am never at a loss for a pill. I perform all my cures with them, accompanied by the words Inshallah and Mashallah.’

“ There was, however, another genuine and primitive medicine in his shop, which I should do him an injustice if I neglected to mention. It was hartshorn, that is to say, an enormous stag’s horn, which he powdered and gave in substance.”

Lysinia is placed in the province of Pamphylia, another argument against its position at Bourdour.

In the *Oriens Christianus* are the names of two bishops.

Apagamius.

Eugenius.



## CHAPTER V.

Leave Bourdour—Lose our way—Arrive at Yazakeuy—  
 Genealogical enigma—Turkish honesty—Lake of Navlo—  
 Village of Yarislee, the ancient town of Lagon—Inscriptions—  
 Illustrations of the camel passing through the eye of  
 a needle, and of Exodus xxii. 26.—Lady Hesther Stan-  
 hope—Arrive at Kaiadevè (Mandropolis)—Adventure with  
 a Cafidji—The lake Caralis, and observations on salt lakes—  
 Plain of Kara-uke—Arrive at Kai-issar—The oda bashi—  
 Ancient city of Themisonium.

It was twenty minutes before three when we quitted Bourdour. We rode along the lake, being first at a little distance only, then nearly close to the water, and afterwards diverging again. On the east side of Bourdour the lake extends probably a league. It began to get dusk, and from dusk nearly dark. It was then, that not quite sure of the proper turning to Yazakeuy, I referred the question to Milcom. He had led me out of the road at the same spot on my first

journey, and in order to free himself from all responsibility on the present occasion, declared, with a candour quite unusual, that he did not recollect to have seen the road or even the lake before, though the latter was at least sixteen miles long. We wandered on in uncertainty, now and then trying to the right and the left as good pioneers, to avoid getting into the marshes and ditches, till at length we saw a light at some distance a head of us. It did not appear as stationary as we could have wished, and it might be an *ignis fatuus*, or if not, a Eureka's fire; still we followed it, crossing the river by bridges twice or thrice; at length, another light appeared, and the barking of dogs, Dr. Chandler's terror, but our great consolation, announced the neighbourhood of a village. It proved to be the right one; and we arrived at Yazakeuy, a little after six, and were comfortably settled in a snug oda, with a good fire, most cheering to frozen toes and fingers. The master of the oda, for the first time on our journey, slept in the apartment with us.

*Monday, Nov. 19.*—As we had been just a month from Smyrna to day, and fortunately accomplished the principal objects of our journey,

we determined to return without further loss of time. The most direct road to Denizli was by Atchekeuy, but as I had already passed that way, and by the upper road of Chardak, we agreed to take an under or more southern road which we were assured was as near and direct as that by Atchekeuy.

There were two objects which determined us to do so. The possible discovery of the ancient city of Themisonium ; and the examination of the country on the southern side of Chonas, in order to ascertain positively that the emplacement of Colossæ was really at that place.

Mr. Dethier rose before six, excited by the promises of an old chasseur last night to conduct him to a part of the lake where wild geese, tadores, and woodcocks, were in such abundance, that we might with ease kill enough before breakfast to load another baggage horse. The old gentleman failed in his engagement, and Mr. Dethier, after two hours, returned without either goose, tadorne, or woodcock, and yet my friend was the best shot in Smyrna. \*

\* “ On y trouvent beaucoup d’oiseaux aussi gros que des oyes, et si gras qu’ils ne scauroient voler ; ils se laissent tuer

The water all round the oda was frozen, and the ground whitened with a hoar frost. We quitted Yazakeuy at nine o'clock, and arrived at Yarikeuy at a quarter past nine. Here we copied an inscription in the burial-ground.

Κλαυδίας Πελαγίας τῆς κατασκευῆς τοῦ μνημείου  
Πρόνοιαν ποιησαμένου Καλλικλέους εἰς υιοῦ γενομένου  
ἀνδρὸς αὐτῆς.

(The monument) of Claudia Pelagia, constructed by Callicles, who was doubly the son of her husband, i. e.

His father married Pelagia, after which he (Callicles) married the daughter of Pelagia by a former husband. I am indebted to Colonel Leake for a solution of this genealogical enigma, which I should never have discovered myself.

Very soon after we had another evidence of the redeeming qualities in the Turkish character. Mr. Dethier had exchanged horses with me, and my cloak, which was strapped behind the saddle,

*a coups de baton.* On fait de leur graisse une mantique, dont les pauvres gens se servent au lieu de beurre fondu."

*Lucas's Travels*, vol. i. p. 244.

These birds are the Tadorne ducks.

slipped off unobserved. Suleiman went back in pursuit of it, and found it suspended from a tree across the road. A Turk had found it, and took this simple honest way of restoring it to its owner. Many a Christian would not have done so.

Our course, which had been west from Bourdour to Yazakeuy, was now west-south-west. At half past ten we saw a sarcophagus by the road side on the right, and on the left, at some little distance, lay the village of Douvare. Looking back, and to the left, the extraordinary formation of the ground about Bourdour was seen to a great extent stretching away to the south.

Mr. Dethier's supposition is, that these hills were once under the waters of the lake; that the lake sunk, and that the hills were shaped as at present by the continued action of rain, &c., for ages. This is curiously in correspondence with the tradition of the country which Lucas heard at Bourdour.

The road was still in a plain, with a rocky ridge on the right, and at eleven o'clock another ridge on the left, which, with the adjoining mountain, resembled Coresus and Mount Prion

at Ephesus, as seen from Aiasaluk. A tumulus lay near it. At a quarter past eleven, we passed a small lake on the left, called Navlo Ghiul.

In the village of Yarislee, where we arrived at twelve o'clock, we were detained till one, and had time permitted, we would willingly have remained much longer, as we found several interesting inscriptions on the fountain and in the mosque, and might have found many more. The villagers, with their Aga at the head, escorted us from place to place, and pressed us much to visit the remains of a castle and other ruins on the mountain above the village; the site, no doubt, of the ancient town, from whence the inscribed stones were brought. They told us also, that great quantities of marble were visible under water in the lake.

The subjoined inscription is on a square pedestal in the court of the mosque, and one part being against the wall, of course it is imperfect. It appears to consist of moral maxims; and here again, as in the following inscription, I have to acknowledge my obligations to Colonel Leake for the restoration and translation.

Νῦν τοὶ πάντα τέλει δαίμων νυν ἐς ὅρθ' ἐν ὁδῷ γει  
 Πράξεις πάντα κατὰ νόον μηκέτι τρύχε σεαυτόν  
 Επιτεύξῃ συ τε ἀμέμπτως ὧν ἂν ἐπιθυμῇς  
 "Ὅσα θέλεις πράξεις, εἰ ρῆσεις . . . .  
 'Εν χειρὶ ξένε θαρσύνῃς παντὸς . . . .  
 "Ἦσυχ' αὖ βουλεύον καὶ σοὶ θεὸς ἡγεμονεύσει.

Εἴσι καλαὶ πράξεις σπεύδε σὲ χρῶ  
 Κρατήσεις καὶ τοὺς ἀλώμενον ἐν ξενίῃ  
 'Εκφεύξῃ γὰρ νόσον χαλεπῆς πάντων δὲ  
 θεὸς ἀνδρῶν.

" Now the Deity effects all things for thee ; now  
 leads thee in the right way.

Do not torment thyself ; thou wilt do every  
 thing to your mind.

Thou wilt attain that which, without blame, thou  
 desirest.

Whatsoever thou wishest, thou wilt effect, if  
 words (or, if you shall utter) . . . . .

He, O stranger, who trusts in his own hand, of  
 every . . . . .

Design peacefully, and God will be thy leader."

*At Yarislee, on the Fountain.*

Ἐπὶ σωτηρίας καὶ νίκης καὶ αἰωνίου διαμονῆς τῶν  
 δεσπότην καὶ ἀνικητῶν ἀντοκρατόρων Λουκίου Σεπτιμίου  
 Σεούηρου καὶ Μαρκοῦ Αὐρηλίου Ἀντωνίνου καὶ Π.  
 Σεπτιμίου Γέτας Καίσαρος καὶ νέας Ἡρας Ῥωμαίας συν  
 παντὸς οἴκου τῶν Σεβαστῶν καὶ ἱερᾶς συνκλήτου καὶ  
 δήμου τῶν Ῥωμαίων· ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου λαμπροτάτου Τατίου  
 Τιτιανῶν τῇ γλυκυτάτῃ πατρίδι τῷ Λακίνεων Δημῷ μετὰ  
 πασας ἀρχας τε καὶ λειτουργίας καὶ διαποντίους πρέσβειας  
 ας ἤνυσεν ἐπὶ Θεοῦ Κομμόδου Τρύφων Ἀπολλωνίδου  
 ὑποσχόμενος ἀπὸ . . . . . θυγατρὸς ἰδίας . . . . .  
 καὶ προσφιλοτειμησάμενος μετὰ τῆς γοναϊκῆς Ἀμμίας . . .  
 . . . . . θυγατρὸς . . . . . καὶ αὐτὰς διὰ βίου μετέχειν  
 ἐκτελέσας τὸ βαλανεῖον παρέδωκεν.

This inscription seems to have begun with a form common under the Roman emperors, which in Latin was expressed by *pro salute et victoriâ*. The following is its tenor in English :

“ For the safety and victory and stability of the lords and invincible emperors Lucius Septimius Severus and Marcus Aurelius Antoninus (*Caracalla*,) and Publius Septimius Geta Cæsar, and the new Roman Juno, (*Plautilla*,) with all



the house of the Augusti, and the senate and people of the Romans, under the most illustrious proconsul Tattius Titianus. Tryphon, son of Apollonides, after all the commands, the offices, and the embassies beyond seas, which he performed under the god Commodus, having finished this bath, with the\* concurrence of his wife Ammia and her daughter . . . . ., and on condition that they are to have the benefit of it for life, has presented it to his beloved native place, the Demos of the Lacinenses.”

If the reading as to Plautilla is correct, the date of this inscription is about A. D. 203.

The name of ΔΑΚΑΝΕΩΝ ΔΗΜΟΣ occurs in the inscription on the fountain. From the form of the first letter it might be mistaken for ΤΑΚΑΝΕΩΝ.

I was disposed to consider this the name of the district placed by Ptolemy close to that of Themisonium, and seeming to refer to the Laconian towns of the neighbourhood, Sagalassus, Selge, Isbarta, and others; but on better grounds,

\* The preceding part of the inscription is literally translated, but from hence the obvious sense is only given, as many of the words are imperfect.

Yarisleë may be said to be on the site of the town called Lagon in the march of the Consul Manlius, which he found deserted after his halt at Mandropolis, and at no great distance from the sources of the river Lysis.

Perhaps this is the place called Lagania in the *Notitiæ*, but placed by the author of the *Oriens Christianus*, in Pamphylia, and of which he gives the following names as bishops :

Zacharias.

Constans,

Elizæus,

Basilus.

At half past one we began to ascend the mountain, and at ten minutes before two, the village of Navlo, situated on a knoll at the right.

As we were ascending the hill, I saw something shining on the road, which proved to be one of the needles used by the camel-drivers for mending their camel furniture. It was about six inches long, and had a large, very long eye ; it had evidently been dropped by one of the conductors of a caravan which was some little way a-head of us, and of which the sound of the

camel bells, as it was occasionally brought to us by the wind, was so agreeable, that I was not surprised Mr. Lovell should call the camels lovers of music.

This association of the needle with the camels at once reminded me of the passage which has been considered so difficult to be illustrated. “It is easier for a camel to pass through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God.”

Why should it not be taken literally? As the usages of the east are as unvarying as the laws of the Medes and Persians, I can easily imagine that even the camel driver of Rachel carried his needles about with him, to mend “the furniture;” and the equipment of a camel-driver in those days could not well have been more simple than at present; comprising simply his long benish or cloak of white felt or coarse cloth, the shield against sun and cold by day, and his bed by night; a tinned *casan*, or crock, for his pillau, and all the other uses of the cuisine; a wooden bowl to prepare the barley or dari balls for his camels, and his needles and cordage.

His short pipe and tobacco-bag are luxuries of modern days.

The needle, from its constant and daily use, must have held a prominent place in his structure of ideas and imagery; and as we know how fertile the imaginations of these camel-drivers were in furnishing us with proverbs and legendary tales, for Mahomet is said to have heard the story of the seven sleepers of Ephesus from a fellow camel-driver, why may not the impracticability of a camel's passing through the eye of his needle, even a common camel, much more the double-hunched gentleman of Bactria, have been a common expression to denote an impossibility? \*

\* Many persons, even in Asia, consider the dromedary as the animal privileged to carry two hunches, and that the camel has only one. The dromedary has *never* two hunches, and the only difference between the dromedary and the camel is precisely the distinction between the waggon-horse and the racer; the dromedary is the latter, and the other the beast of burden. The camel with two hunches is a particular species, called the Bactrian camel.

Perhaps it is digressing too much to allude here to the double-hunched horse of Lady Hesther Stanhope; but as many of my readers have probably never heard of it, I will venture to mention it.

Long previous to the residence of Lady Hesther in Syria, a

How valuable the needle must be to the poor camel-driver, may be inferred from its loss. Should he have been so improvident as to have only one, the loss of it would be one of the greatest he could suffer, and when travelling through the desert, might even endanger his personal safety.

Another explanation may be given, but much less natural than the former. Every body has

tradition was general among the Arabs that a personage should one day arrive among them, who should be the greatest benefactor or benefactress that their tribes had ever known since the days of Ishmael ; and that there might be no mistake, the person should be identified with the possessor of a horse wearing a natural saddle.

Expectation was wound up to the highest pitch of excitement, when Lady Hesther fixed her abode on Mount Lebanon. She had not long arrived, when she was presented by one of the Sheiks with a beautiful Arabian horse, from whose back rose, like the Bactrian camel in miniature, two elevations affording a seat between them like the Tatar saddles of the east. I believe, though I am not sure, that some difference of colour in the hair marked also the saddle housings.

No sooner was this known, than the news was spread in every Arab tent, that the benefactress, the great and long looked-for deliverer, was arrived, and homage was tendered to her ladyship by the chiefs of every tribe.

I never had the honour of seeing Lady Hesther, and am never likely to do so ; but leaving it to others to notice her

heard of the obelisks of Alexandria, called the *Needles* of Cleopatra—a name, I apprehend, anciently given to them and similar obelisks. These were usually erected at the entrance of temples. If two such obelisks were existing at Jerusalem, and so close to each other as not to admit the passing of a loaded camel, and passable only by the traveller on foot, the proverb might have had its origin from hence.

I have compared, in my first journey, the camel driver, with his white benish, to the figures in the Morai of Owbyee. It did not then occur to me, that this extraordinary-looking, but invaluable cloak, afforded a good illustration of Exodus, xxii. 26.

It is his fair weather and foul weather compa-

peculiarities, if they can feel pleasure in doing so, I tender, with the Arab sheiks, my respectful homage to that warm-hearted and magnificent benevolence, to which, much more than to her miraculous steed, she is deservedly indebted for the veneration in which she is held by the Arabs.

I have even heard it said, and I believe it, that she could have done more to prevent the advance of Ibrahim Pasha, by a single word to her subjects of the desert, than all the firmans or armies of Mahmoud. She is also a lady of most highly cultivated mind.

nion, his protection against the heat and cold by day, and by night his bed and counterpane. How cruelly would he feel its loss? So humane was the law of the Jewish legislator, "If thou at all take thy neighbour's raiment to pledge, thou shalt deliver it unto him by that the sun goeth down. For that is his covering only; it is his raiment for his skin;—wherein shall he sleep?"

We were now in a very extensive plain of great elevation; the cold was excessive, and having a violent cold, I was keenly susceptible of it. We rode fast, without feeling warmer, and arrived at four o'clock at the miserable village of Kaiadevè, situated very near another lake, Kaia Ghiul, (or Kaisè Ghiul.) It was very desirable to have gone an hour or two farther, for there was nothing inviting in the oda or the society we found in it; but I was too indisposed. The clouds were heavy, and threatened an unpropitious day for to-morrow. Two beggars were our bedfellows, for we could not get rid of them here as at Deenare, by purchasing their share of the apartment, there being no other in which they could find shelter. We had, notwithstanding, some antiquarian intelligence, which made

some amends for a bad dinner and a wretched apartment. We were told, that at Hazelare, between Bourdour and Yazakeuy, on the mountain side at the right, are very considerable remains. That the river we crossed between Bourdour and Yazakeuy, and which runs into the lake of Bourdour, has its sources at or near Hazelare, and it is therefore probably the site of either Lysinœ or Cretopolis. Our informant told us also, that near *this* village, about a quarter of an hour distant on the mountain, are the remains of a *hissar* or *kalesi*—a castle.

*Tuesday, Nov. 20.*—Mr. Dethier rose at an early hour, and went in pursuit of this castle, but without success. It is however certain, that there is an ancient building, our informants call it a *double* castle, on the mountain immediately over the lake; and Kaiadevè probably stands near the site of an ancient town, though we saw no stones in proof of it.

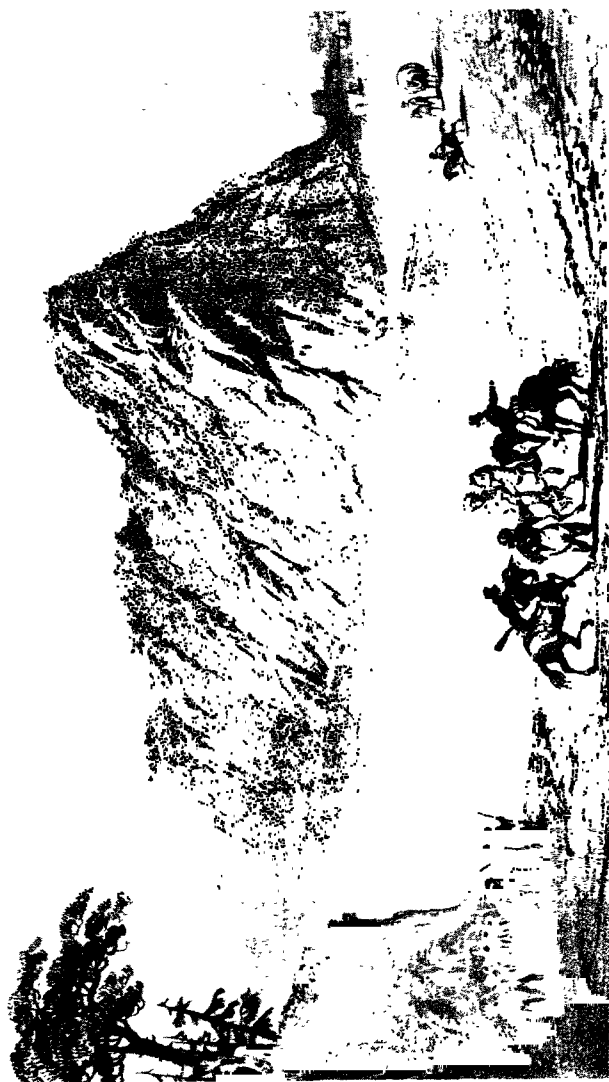
The Consul Manlius, when near Mandropolis passed the lake Caralis; now, as there is no other lake on the west of Yarislee except that near Davous, which is much too distant, if Lagon was at Yarislee, it will follow that the



lake of Kaiadevè must be the lake Caralis, and the ruins on the mountain of the lake those probably of Mandropolis ; unless there are also ancient remains at Navlo, which certainly stands on a commanding situation. Mandropolis may be placed, with much probability, at one of those places, I should say at Kaiadevè ; and if the name Mandropolis has an affinity with modern Greek, the conjecture is supported by the extensive open country near it, eminently calculated, like another Salisbury Plain, for the pasturage of sheep.

The ice was thick on the water, and the clouds threatened a heavy fall of snow. I was dreadfully *enrhumé*, but what was to be done ? We mounted at a quarter past eight, and passed by an excellent road along the side of the lake, which was nearly close to the village.

A little sprinkling of snow came on ; and when we would have quickened our pace, we were stopped by a man dressed in an Arab benish and accompanied by about ten other fellows. He laid his hand on Mr. Dethier's saddle, and in a very insolent tone demanded money ; but as we did not perfectly understand him, we referred him to Kyriacos, as our interpreter. Quitting



On 31<sup>st</sup> me by L. Hagler.

Just a "Hagler Litho" to the King, 17<sup>th</sup> Jan. 1848.

# KAJA DIEVÉ, "THE ROCK OF THE CAMELS"

Published by R. Bentley, London 1834.



his hold of Mr. Dethier's saddle, he seized the bridle of Kyriacos, and again repeated his demand in a louder and more menacing tone, on the plea that he was the *cafji* of an adjoining *café*, and that having quitted it, he had occasion for money, and insisted on having some.

We told him that we were not *rayahs*, but Franks ; and were neither obliged nor disposed to submit to such imposition; and repeated again and again that we were protected by the sultan's *firman*. We were considerably in advance of Milcom and Suleiman, neither of whom were as yet in sight, and the fellow calculating on his superiority of numbers, seemed to set our *firman* at defiance, and persisted in keeping hold of the bridle of Kyriacos, and, in a still more menacing tone, to repeat his demand.

My friend Dethier, though of the mildest and most amiable temper, is a man of the most determined courage and resolution ; and finding the fellow persisted in detaining us, he drew both pistols, and coming up close to him, placed them on either side of the man's head, and threatened to shoot him if he did not instantly set off.

I knew my friend so well, as to be convinced

he would do what he threatened ; and intreating him to be patient, tried to make the scoundrel respect our firman. He was perfectly unmoved, and with a pistol about six inches from each ear, he coolly turned his head from one to the other, as if examining if they were really weapons of death.

Perhaps the capsuled locks, without flints, made him hope they were not so ; for instantly after he began his insolence again, and looked back upon his men with an expression of countenance which plainly called upon them to come to his assistance. They had only large sticks, but their leader was armed with pistols and yatagan.

God knows what might have happened, if at this moment Milcom and Suleiman had not appeared in sight. I instantly directed the fellow's attention to them, the pistols still at his head ; when observing a double-barrelled gun in the hands of both our surigees, he thought it prudent to quit his hold on the bridle, and slunk quietly away, followed by his gang, now reinforced by four or five others.

When Milcom came up and heard our story,

he galloped back after the fellow, and, proving that the patient and enduring Armenian could be roused into a lion, he succeeded in bringing back an ample apology for the insult we had received.\*

Permitted to resume our journey, we shortly after came to the palace of the *cafıdjı*, a mud hut covered with pine branches. The snow fell thick, and we made the best of our way. We were now on the south border of the lake, elevated on the mountain side above it. We observed curious white patches on the edges of the lake, especially on this side, where a broad white ridge entered some way into the water. It is probably a formation of *tufa*, like Hierapolis, for it was not salt, the water of the lake being fresh.

\* I have said, in the first volume, that the Turks designate the Armenians by the name of the "*Camel*;" and to prove that this is far from being a disrespectful epithet, the reader has only to refer to Mr. Eton's Survey of the Turkish Empire, page 198, and he will there find a list of names applied by the Turks to all other nations, European and Asiatic, infinitely less respectful than that of *Camel*. If Mr. Eton really had any good authority for the libellous catalogue, which is very doubtful, I will not reprint the calumny.

The epithet of *Camel*, as applied to the Armenian character, I have somewhere read, originated in the failure of an attempt of the sultan to make his soldiers like the other rayahs.

The existence of so many lakes, and at small distances from each other, is a striking peculiarity in the interior of Anatolia ; that some of these should be salt lakes, while others are fresh, is another peculiarity. Without going so far off as the lake Tatta, which supplies all the country with salt, the lakes on the road from Konia to Affium kara hissar, at Ilgun, Aksher, &c. are fresh water lakes. On the west of Konia, the vast lake of Bey sher is salt ; that of Eyerdir is fresh. The lakes of Bourdour and Navlo are salt, as are the large lake of Anava, and the small one of Churak ; whereas the lake at Kaiadevè is fresh.

Colonel Leake, in his valuable paper in the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society, on the identity of the Quorra with the Niger, has the following observations on fresh and salt lakes.

“ I am aware that many persons are of opinion that the freshness of the water in the lake Tjad, is a proof of its having a stream flowing from it, on the principle, that as all rivers hold saline particles in solution, the saltness of the lake will continually increase if there be no expenditure but by evaporation. But although the theory

may be correct ; although lakes, without outlets, having steep margins, which prevent any enlargement of surface, may thus become strongly impregnated with salt, shallow lakes, formed by periodical inundations, like the greater part of those in North Africa, may be very differently affected.

“ Here a great part of the salt being left on the margin, as the evaporation takes place, is absorbed by the vegetation ; while the salt in the permanent part of the lake will keep that water at the bottom, by its weight, when the inundation takes place, or, at least, will cause it to be only partially mixed with the new supply,—so that the upper surface of the lake will be always nearly, if not quite, as fresh as the river that forms it.

“ That, in fact, all such lakes are fresh, or nearly so, notwithstanding their having no outlet, may be shown from a multitude of examples. It is sufficient to mention the Zurra, in Persia, which is formed by the river Helmund, by the Greeks called Etymander ; the lakes Nessonis and Bæbeis, in Thessaly ; the lake Mœris, in Egypt ; and a *series of lakes* which, with the



streams flowing into them, *occupy a length of two hundred miles in the interior of Asia Minor.*

“These last form an exact parallel with the Tjad, in having, at no great distance from them, salt lakes, and a large tract of country producing salt on the surface,—facts which furnish the further proof, that a great degree of saltiness, in lakes, depends neither upon outlets nor margins, but upon local causes, as we see exemplified in the Dead Sea, of which some of the cliffs are of solid salt.”\*

In proof of the correctness of this reasoning, may be adduced the lake of Kaiadevè,—a lake having *no outlet*, and yet a *fresh* lake. It is not quite certain that the lake of Eyerdir has any emissary, for the river which we crossed, near the town, may possibly run into it, instead of out of it; it was too dark to distinguish; and if so, Eyerdir is also a fresh-water lake.

The *salt* lakes are constantly termed by the Turks, “*bitter* :” may not, therefore, “*bitter*,” as applied, in Scripture, and by the Orientals of the present day, to waters unfit for use, be sim-

\* Journal of the Royal Geograph. Soc. vol. ii. page 23.

ply a *figurative* expression, denoting the *bitterness* of disappointment which the fainting traveller experiences, on discovering that the beautiful lake, descried at a long distance, and the object of his most anxious solicitude, mocks his expectations ; and though pure and inviting to the eye, is nauseous to the taste, and would rather increase his sufferings than relieve them ?

Having crossed a small river near a bridge, with tamarisks on the banks, at ten o'clock, the snow became more compassionate ; and when we arrived at Solda, about five minutes after, it had nearly ceased. This village lies a little on the right. We now crossed a small plain, and then ascended among pines, balsams, valonea, and juniper : the hills all around were covered with pines, and the soil of a reddish colour, indicating the vicinity of iron : our course probably southwest.

The road led still through these pine-hills till eleven o'clock, when we began to descend : the hill was a long one, and we walked down. At twelve o'clock the village (or rather town, having five hundred houses) of Gunè lay on the left, distant about a quarter of an hour. We passed

the village of Sigalik at a quarter before one o'clock ; the road winding through a valley, over a broad, dry watercourse, with earthy-looking rocks, bare, and of a porphyric, or reddish purple colour on either side.\* At half-past one re-ascended the hills.

At two, descended into a magnificent plain, called the plain of Kara-uke ; and previously to entering it, when nearly at the bottom of the mountain, saw, on the right, a most extraordinary formation, resembling immense quarries of great height, and of a colour which at a distance might be mistaken for light-coloured yellow satin, the whitish streaks giving the shades. The effect was much heightened by the dark green foliage of several large pines growing in and about it.

Close to this we came to the village of Afshar ; but as it was only two o'clock, we resolved, though the snow had been succeeded by slight rain, to proceed to the village of Kai-issar. Our road lay for a little way over the plain, then entered a gorge among the hills on the north ; and

\* This continued appearance is presumptive evidence that we were approaching the Cibyrates, celebrated for its iron mines.

suffering much from the excessive cold north wind, we were delighted to arrive at the town of Kai-issar about ten minutes after three.

It is a considerable place, finely situated on the side of the mountain. We were nearly frozen before we could find a place to receive us, to-morrow being the bazaar day, and every apartment crowded. We waited for the best, having, through the kind offices of a Greek, been placed in the best oda of the village. The proprietor was full of the kindest attentions: he had lived long in the world, and had experienced much of its vicissitudes: his heart was evidently softened by sufferings.

Some years ago he was a man of considerable property and influence in Kai-issar and its neighbourhood; but opposing an aga, though with justice, for his rapacity and oppression of the villagers, he became the victim of his benevolence. The aga had more influence than himself at Constantinople, denounced his opponent as a rebel and traitor to the sultan, and, without further investigation, his property was all seized, and himself and family exiled to a remote village on the shores of the Black Sea.

After a long banishment, his innocence was proved on the removal of the aga, who had either lost his influence, or, what is the same thing, was not rich enough to pay longer for it; and the injured man returned about two years since to his native village, and to the wrecks of his once ample fortune.

We had made our beds, and laid down—Kyriacos, Milcom, and Suleiman were already indulging in slumbering melodies—when the door opened, and five or six young Turks entered the apartment. They were all handsome young men, and in high *kief*, joking and playing with each other, more agreeably to themselves than to us, who were not so willing to be disturbed. My bed, close to the chimney, a privileged place, as I was an invalid, stood a fair chance of being burnt, with myself in it, by a forest of wood, which they threw into the fire.

We waited patiently and impatiently for their departure, but they had no such intention; and having carefully removed all our baggage to another part of the room, spread their beds among us. They were the sons of the oda bashi.

Kai-issar is certainly on or near the site of a

considerable ancient town. We saw pedestals and marbles lying in all directions, and capitals of a very ancient form, upon which, like those on the great mosque of Ephesus, was a cross—vestiges of a primitive church.

There is much reason to suppose that this is the site of the ancient city of Themisonium, which was placed by Ptolemy in the same country with Cibyra, Hierapolis, and Apamea, and by Hierocles among the towns of Phrygia Pacatianna, together with Laodicea, Colossæ and Hierapolis.

In the tabular itinerary there is a road from Laodicea ad Lycum, to Perga, passing through Themisonium and Cormasa. On this road Colonel Leake remarks, that “although the direct distance is upwards of one hundred G. M. there are only forty-six M. P. marked in the table, namely—thirty-four between Themisonium and Cormasa, and twelve from Cormasa to Perga. If these two distances were correct, therefore, the omitted distance between Laodicea and Themisonium ought to be supplied with about one hundred M.P. It is impossible to believe, however, that Themisonium, which is named by

Strabo among the smaller towns round Apamea and Laodicea, could have been so far to the south-east. Cormasa, on the other hand, must have been much more than twelve M. P. from Perga; for it appears from Livy, that Cormasa was at a considerable distance from the borders of Pamphylia towards Lysinoe and the lake of Bourdour; which agrees with Ptolemy, who names it among the cities of Pisidia, and next to Lysinia.”\*

But on an attentive examination of the table, I think the thirty-four miles placed between Themisonium and Cormasa does not mark the distance between these towns, but between Laodicea and Themisonium, and which is exactly the distance from Eski-hissar, (Laodicea,) to Kaisar—for between Antioch on the Meander and Carura, there is no distance given in the table, but immediately over these towns, and preceding Laodicea are the figures vi. If we suppose an x omitted, sixteen miles would be just the distance between Antioch and Carura; then the xx which follows is the correct distance between Casara and Laodicea; and as no figures

\* Colonel Leake's Journal, p. 155.

occur between that town and Themisonium, the thirty-four which is after Themisonium, no doubt makes the distance between it and Laodicea, and as I have observed, this is very near the actual distance between Eski-hissar and Kai-issar.

There would still be a considerable distance, to supply, omitted in the table, between Themisonium and Cormasa, and possibly the ruins at Germè may after all prove to be those of Cormasa, written, by the better authority of Polybius, Curmasa, of which Germè may be a corruption.

Pausanius places Themisonium in Phrygia *above* or *beyond* Laodicea, that is, to the east of it, and calls it an Arcadian colony founded by Azan, and that at the distance of thirty stades from the city was a *cave* of which the entrance was very small, and thereby difficult to be discovered, for there was no path that led to it, nor did the light of the sun penetrate far into it; and besides this the roof was very near the ground;\* that it had before the entrance little statues of Hercules, Apollo and Mercury, in gratitude to those deities, for having in a dream

\* Taylor's Pausanius, vol. iii. p. 193.



directed the inhabitants to this cave, as a place of refuge, when the Gauls were laying waste all Ionia, &c. These statues were called Spelaitai. This cave is said to have many sources of water within it.

On a coin of Themisonium, in the cabinet of my friend Mr. Borrell, is a river God, with the name of Azanes; evidence of some river being at or near Themisonium; probably this is the river at Yatagan. Matthias was bishop of Themisonium A. D. 503.

We were told that the direct road from Denizli to Adalia, is—from Denizli to Kara-uke, nine hours; from Kara-uke to Kaiadevè, (where we slept last night,) six hours; thence to Folla, ( $\phi\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omega\varsigma$ ?) ten hours; Folla to Yenijaklee, ten hours, and thence to Adalia six hours.

## CHAPTER VI.

Village at Yatagan—The Turkish Saint Yatagundie—Miraculous escape of Kyriacos—Arrive at Chokour—Routes to Adalia, &c.—The Cibyrates—Marches of the Consul Manlius—Diocese of the Archbishop of Pisidia.

*Wednesday, Nov. 21.*—It was ten o'clock before we left Kai-issar, Kyriacos being busily engaged with the kabobji in dressing our meat. It was not too late, for the cold was excessive, the ice being very thick. We had intended to go to Khonas, and thence to Hierapolis ; but hearing from our host that on the road to Denizli the Kiouk Bounar *sunk* into the ground, and afterwards re-emerged, as my Denizli correspondent had formerly told me, we determined to take that road. It is well we did, for we afterwards learnt that Khonas was nine hours from Kai-issar, instead of six, as we had been informed.

At half past ten we passed the village of Ujak, and came to the village of Yatagan at ten minutes after eleven, the road leading over low hills with pines, and latterly at the head of the plain of Kara-uke, course north-west. The village has its name, it appears, from a convent, in which is the tomb and body of a Mahometan saint, called Yatagundie.

If we are to credit the account of Lucas, the mosque where the saint reposes is full of riches ; sixty massive chandeliers of silver ten feet in height, and a great number of gold and silver lamps. Two hundred dervishes were employed in the service of the mosque, which has immense revenues, most of which are expended in hospitality, feeding and lodging every one that passes by.

Unfortunately we knew nothing about this magnificent establishment, or we might have pitched our tents here instead of at Kai-issar, not for the better fare, but because it is said that there is a very considerable library annexed to the mosque, with a great number of precious manuscripts ; and who knows if we might not have picked up the lost decades of Livy ? However, we shall not readily forget Yatagan or its saint,

from an occurrence which had something of the miraculous in it.

The horse of our mehmandar was a high mettled steed, of untameable spirit, and but for one unfortunate propensity would have been a most valuable animal. Whenever he happened to find himself in advance of the party, he would retrograde with all the precision of a military movement, till he fell again into the ranks; but usually, while this back step was taking place, Milcom would hasten up, and with all the energies of his long whip, make horse, rider, palank, and paplomas, set off on a full gallop over hill or plain, till he supposed the horse's liveliness was a little abated.

On this morning, from some reason or other, Kyriacos was considerably a-head of us, when his horse began his customary backward march. At the distance of about a hundred yards was what in another season would be called a river of importance; it was now a considerable stream, thickly frozen over, and with high banks.

The animal was making his way straight to this place;—aware of the imminent danger, we

galloped up, but before we could arrive the catastrophe had taken place. The horse stepped back with a quick pace, and was on the brink of the precipice, as it might be called ; that is, a bank of about ten or twelve feet. In another moment he fell back with rider, palank, and paploma under him, into the frozen stream.

We were breathless with apprehension ; and certainly whatever might be the fate of the horse, hardly ventured to hope that our useful friend would ever rise again. He did rise again, however, but soaked to the skin ; and the innumerable masses of ice about him blazed like brilliants in the sunbeams, and tinkled like the bells of a caravan of camels.

Providentially he had no bones broken, though severely bruised, and had he been a good Mahometan, would doubtless have consecrated a silver horse, palank, and paploma, as votive tablets to St. Yatagundie. We were obliged to halt at least half an hour, till, from the intensity of the cold, and the cutting north wind, we were nearly masses of ice ourselves ; what then was the situation of poor Kyriacos, obliged to strip to the

skin, and change every article of his habiliments. But a deep draught from the rackee bottle restored animation, if it did not cure the bruises, and we set off again at half-past eleven, enlivened as usual by Kyriacos, who gave us positive evidence that he was not mortally wounded, by singing, as usual, a long and loud, if not very melodious, Greek chaunt.

We ascended, and then descended again into the magnificent plain of Kara-uke about half-past twelve. At one o'clock the large village of Kesil-hissar lay at the foot of the mountain on the left, about half an hour distant. Our course across the plain was as before, north-west, or north by west. We again quitted the plain at two o'clock, half dead with the intensely cold wind blowing in our teeth, and ascended the mountain on foot. A café hut was a cheering sight, and we gladly accepted the cafigi's invitation to enter and take a cup of coffee.

We continued to ascend, and afterwards descended on foot all the way to the village of Chokour, which, from the immense depth at which it lies in the valley, well deserves the name of *profound*, or *deep*, as the Turkish word sig-

nifies. On the descent we saw a variety of strata; and a mineral like manganese, certainly iron ore, and another evidence of the vicinity of the Cibyrates.

There was a view of a distant plain before us, which resembled a lake with a white incrustation on the right, which though we first took for Denizli Ovasi, or the plain of Denizli, proved afterwards to be the plain and ruins of Hierapolis. The valley in which we descended is full of pines, and the village of Chokour, where we arrived at four o'clock, is embosomed in fruit trees.

We found a good oda, more than half filled by previous visitors. They were Greeks from Levissee, opposite Rhodes.

Our apartment had a raised and well-floored platform occupying the better half of it; this the Greeks, as first comers, were entitled to, and showed no disposition to relinquish. We were lodged more humbly on the earthen floor; we had, however, the fire-place, which would have been an important advantage, if some entire trunks of trees, hospitably thrown into it, to dry the still dripping wardrobe of Kyriacos, had not,

from the evaporation, nearly suffocated our party, and offered an English etymology for Chokour.

This was the first time on our journey that we had seen Greeks in an oda; and if any further proof was necessary that the Turks, in their hospitality, are really influenced by the “charity that envieth not, and seeketh not her own,” these Greeks supply it; they were quite as well entertained as ourselves, without offering to make, I believe, the smallest remuneration.

They had come from Levissee, a place of some importance, on the eastern side of the gulf of Macri, but not to be found in the maps. The part of the country through which they passed may still be called nearly unknown land, and it will be therefore useful to the future traveller to know that there is a road direct from this place, Levissee, in the gulf of Macri, to Denizli.

Previously to arriving at Chokour, they had passed through Kesiljah-bouluk, a place of which I heard at Denizli in 1826, as having very considerable ruins. This was confirmed by these Greeks, from whom I procured a medal found at that place, of Sebastopolis.

I should be much inclined to identify Kesiljah-



bouluk with Kesil-hissar, which we saw at our left after leaving Yatagan ; both are described as at the same distance, about six hours, from Denizli, and to the south. At least Kesil-hissar is clearly the Guzel-hissar of Major Rennell's map, and the Zel-hissar of a friend's route from Adalia, and at one of these places I should certainly fix Cibyra.

I have long proposed to attempt some explanation of the marches of the Roman army under the consul Manlius, and perhaps this will be the best place for doing it.

The Consul Manlius (B. C. 180) on his march from Ephesus, crossed the Meander and came to Antioch, called Antioch on the Meander. From Antioch he marched in one day to Gordiutichos, an inconsiderable place of which the exact position is unknown, and thence in three days to Tabæ, (Davaus.) In three days' march from Tabæ he reached the Chaus, probably a branch of the Indus river ; beyond it was the town of Eriza, after which he proceeded to Cibyra.

I will not attempt to explain the position previous to his arrival at Cibyra. His marches, both previously and afterwards, seem to have

been, as Major Rennell observes, very circuitous, and generally very short ; this the major accounts for by stating that “ as his present view was the levying of contributions, great delay must necessarily have occurred.”

Cibyra has usually been placed very considerably to the south, or rather south-east of Davaus, a position which is altogether at variance with the authority of Strabo, and other writers, who assign it to Phrygia, and to the *Conventus* of Laodicea. By Hierocles it seems included within the limits of Caria. It is also described as not far below the district of Antioch on the Meander.\*

Dr. Cramer observes, that “ no traces of the site of Cibyra have as yet been discovered, but it is probable that they are to be found not far from Denizli, or Laodicea, on a river, which is either the Lycus, or a branch of it.” Now, though this is in part incorrect, because, as will be hereafter shown, the Lycus is not in this direction, yet Cibyra certainly was not very remote from Denizli ; and I am still disposed to

\* Strabo says Cibyra lay between Lycia and the parts of the valley of the Meander, about Nysa and Antiochia.

consider Kesiljah-bouluk and Kesil-hissar, as one and the same place, and that Cibyra.

The only objection against it is, that the journal of a very intelligent friend who travelled from Gheira, (Aphrodisia) to Denizli, mentions having passed through a magnificent plain, in which was a stadium and the ruins of a town; these must be the ruins of Kesiljah-bouluk, and the plain is an evidence that they are the ruins of Cibyra, and as Gheira lies south-west from Denizli, this seems to disagree with the position of Kesil-hissar, which lies south of Denizli. It is on this sole account that I have allowed the name of Kesiljah-bouluk to appear in the map distinct from Kesil-hissar, and to the west of it.

At the same time, the single fact that Kesiljah-bouluk lay in the route of the Greeks from Levissee, seems sufficient to obviate the objection, and the direction of the ranges of Mount Cadmus very probably obliged the traveller from Gheira to incline towards the east, in which case the plain would be the great plain of Kara-uke, and Kesiljah-bouluk and Kesil-hissar one and the same.

Another proof of this seems to be in the in-

formation received at Denizli,\* that the distance from Khonas to Yarangouné was eight hours, and thence to Kesiljah-bouluk one hour ; if Yarangouné be the Yatagundie of Lucas, and Yatagan of our journey, as is very probable, for the distance from Khonas exactly agrees, then Kesilhissar must be Kesiljah-bouluk, for it is just one hour from Yatagan.

The result of this, in illustration of the march of the consul Manlius, will be, that the great plain of Kara-uke will be the great Cibyritic plain. This plain is described by Corancez as being about four or five leagues wide, and separated from that of Tefeni, (which he supposed the site of Cibra,) by a chain running north and south. In this plain he saw numerous forges for working iron, a proof, he admits, of the vicinity of Cibra, celebrated for its iron mines ; and we saw numerous indications of iron ore on the road from Yatagan to Chokour.

\* Information received at Denizli in 1826. Six hours from Denizli south, at a place called Kesiljah-bouluk, are many grand remains. Going from Khonas to Denizli, it lies on the south-west, not in the road. At one hour from this last place, is Makouf, with many remains of a castle, &c. From Khonas to Yarangouné eight hours ; thence to Kesiljah-bouluk one hour.

Corancez, who was on his way to Denizli, comes in this plain, to a place called Bazaar khan, of which we could hear nothing, though we inquired repeatedly ; and it is therefore probable that this was only the name of a khan where the bazaar was held, contiguous to the town of Kara-uke, which exactly agrees with the distance and bearing assigned by Corancez to Bazaar khan from Denizli, namely, *nine* hours south-east.

If the plain of Kara-uke be not that of Cibyra it would be the *Agri Sindensium*, which Manlius passed after leaving Cibyra, and the Caulares river where he pitched his camp, probably misnamed for the Calbis, would be the lower branch of the river Keugez ; but as the great plain of Kara-uke would be properly expressed by the word *campus* instead of *agri*, I still take Kara-uke for the Cibyritic plain, and Sinda will be probably found at or near Gunè, evidently from its population a place of importance.

I am led to these conclusions, by the position of the town of Lagon at Kaia-devè, for if Cibyra really lay as far to the south or south-east as it is always placed in the maps, Manlius would be made to make many a march direct north to La-

gon, and then to return again nearly in the same direction south.

We have, however, additional evidence in support of our conjectures. After the consul had passed the Agri Sindensium and the river Caulares, *on the following day* he passed along the lake Caralitis, and halted at Mandropolis, and as they were advancing to the neighbouring town of Lagon, the inhabitants seized with terror, abandoned it.

Now there is no lake in the direction towards Yarislee, (Lagon,) but the lake of Kaia-devè; which must be therefore identified with the Caralitis, and the *double castle and remains*, on the mountain behind the lake, most probably are those of Mandropolis, unless, as has been before suggested, there are remains at Navlo to justify placing it there.

Lagon was distinctly at Yarislee, on quitting which the consul passes the sources of the river Lyses, and on the following day the river called Colobatus. The former would be probably either the river between Yazakeuy and Bourdour, or that which we crossed so often coming from

Aglason to Bourdour, and which falls into the lake.

It is indeed possible, that on the western side of the lofty saddle-back mountain, which we saw on our road from Aglason, bounding the plain on the west-north-west there may be another river, having its sources in the mountain, which may be the Lyses, having a downward stream towards Lysinœ, if that city was, as the *Notitiæ* place it, in Pamphylia.

The Colobatus river may with much plausibility be identified with the Agas deresi chay, and both with the Catarractes.

Manlius being arrived so far, alters his line of march, which had been eastward, and takes a southern route into Pamphylia, obliges the Termessians to raise the siege of Isionda ; and having granted terms of peace to the inhabitants of Termessus, Aspendus and others, he commences his marches out of Pamphylia. There are so many difficulties in explaining his route upwards, that I can do little more than mention the names.

The first day he came to the river Taurus, that is, some stream having its sources in that

mountain, but of which he does not give the proper name, unless one of the branches of the Eurymedon may be so called, for he may be supposed to be at or on the east of Aspendus. The place called Xylinen Comen, or the village of wood-houses, was probably among the pine forests of Taurus.

From thence, after several marches, he arrives at Cormasa. This may be at Germè—at all events it cannot be more to the east, nor to the north, because it lay on the west or north of Perga. The town of Darsa lay nearest to Cormasa, which he found abandoned by its inhabitants. If Cormasa was at Germè, Darsa may have been at Issar keuy.

The greatest difficulty remains. As the consul was advancing beyond (or by the side of) the *lake* or *lakes*, a deputation from Lysinoe surrendered that city. Now if Lysinoe really was at Bourdour, he could not have passed *that* lake without passing the town also, and of course before the deputation met him,—a most improbable circumstance, as the object of his march in that direction was to compel its surrender; and what is a stronger objection, his subsequent march is



into the territory of Sagalassus, which would be to return again to the south, instead of advancing,—to say nothing of the absurdity of the supposition, that he should not have taken Sagalassus in his way to Bourdour, lying, as it did exactly, in his road.

Either, therefore, Lysinœ must be sought for more to the south, (possibly on the western side of the range, near Tshaltighi,) or the *lake* must be some other *lake* than that of Bourdour; and there is none to the south of Sagalassus, but that out of which the Duden has been said to rise, at the east of the ruins of Termessus.

It would be digressing too much to follow Manlius in his subsequent marches, though we have previously suggested, that the sources probably mistaken for the Obrimas and the Comen Aporidos were at Subashi in Dombai-ovasi; and the plain of Metropolis, that of Kara Aslan near Oloubourlou.

Levisee, from whence our oda companions came, is mentioned in the subjoined sketch which the Archbishop of Pisidia gave me of the extent of his diocese: it is a curious and useful document; and I lament that my unexpected depar-

ture from Smyrna has deprived me of a particular description of all the intermediate stages, which he promised to send me.

	HOURS.
From Isbarta to Eyerdir . . .	8
From Eyerdir to Barla . . .	8*
From Barla to Kazali . . .	8
From Kazali to Yalobatz . . .	12
From Yalobatz to Ouloubourlou .	20
From Ouloubourlou to Bouldour .	12
From Bouldour to Mola . . .	60†
From Mola to Levissee . . .	36
From Levissee to Antiphilo . .	36
From Antiphilo to Attalia . .	36
From Attalia to Alaya . . .	36
From Alaya to Isbarta . . .	46
	<hr/>
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The diocese of Pisidia, therefore, in its present enlarged extent, includes Pamphylia, Pisidia, Lycia, Milyas, the Cibyratic towns of Bubon, Balbura,‡ and Cenoanda, and a portion of Caria.

\* Probably the ancient Parlais

† This is evidently Mogola, sometimes written Moglah.

‡ The towns of Bubon and Balbura will very probably be

The Greeks and other persons whom we met at the oda confirmed the accuracy of the account we had yesterday of the road from Denizli to Adalia. But it may be useful to the traveller to know that there is also another route.

	HOURS.
From Satalia to Stanaas . . .	12*
From Suleclair to Hassan Pasha .	3
From Hassan Pasha to Agala .	5
From Agala to Karagatch . . .	8
From Karagatch to Zilissar . . .	3
From Zilissar to ( ) . .	3†
From ( ) to Denizli . .	4
	<hr/>
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found below the plain of Kara-uke, in the direction of Levissee. Œenoanda was much more to the south, being described by Appian as adjoining the territory of the Xanthians, whose city was twelve or fifteen miles only from the coast.

The town of Bubon changed its name to Sophianopolis. Cibyra may have done the same; and the medals of Sebastopolis, found at Kesiljah-bouluk may have belonged to Cibyra. The *Oriens Christianus* has the names of seven bishops of Œenoanda, two of Bubon, (or Sophianopolis) and three of Balbura.

\* This is of course the same place called Estenas, and Stanisaw.

† Probably Chokour but the name forgotten.

## CHAPTER VI.

Road from Chokour to Eski-hissar—The Kionk Bonai's source, disappearance, and re-emergement—Not the Lyncus, but the Cadmus—Colossæ therefore decidedly at Khonas—Description of its remains.

*Thursday, Nov. 22.*—In the immensely profound valley of Chokour, the view of the clouds this morning was one of extraordinary grandeur and curiosity. On the side of the valley towards the plain, the clouds, white as snow, and almost transparent, rolled along the mountain side nearly half way down, till they were met by a mass of other clouds blacker than night, and covering nearly half the valley. The sun was shining in the plain in a cloudless sky.

We quitted Chokour at a quarter before nine, the road lying along the ravine, accompanied by our fellow-lodgers, the Greeks, who were going

on to Denizli. At twenty-five minutes past nine, we crossed a river, near a bridge, running down into the plain : this river rises near Chokour, and probably from a source we saw in descending into the valley yesterday.

We now ascended the mountain side ; and having rode along it some time, descended at ten o'clock, and saw the source of the Kiouk Bonar, coming out under the hill close at the left ; then passing under a bridge in a great body of water, sinks into the ground under the mountain about five hundred yards from its source. About five hundred yards further on, the river re-emerges again, and flows along the side of the road.

This is so very like the description given, by Herodotus, of the disappearance and re-emergement of the Lycus, and which, according to that author, determines the site of Colossæ from its *disappearance within* that city ; that had any ruin been upon the spot, I should have hesitated in fixing Colossæ at Khonas.

But though our guides told us of some considerable remains in a mountain not far off, there was not the smallest vestige of antiquity, not a single block of stone, near the disappearance or

re-emergement of the Kiouk-bonar, for we examined with the most scrupulous attention ; and therefore it is certain that the stream, of which I saw the *re-emergement*, in my first journey, between Denizli and Khonas, and called Saint Panteleemon, is the true Lycus ; and Khonas, beyond all dispute, is the real site of Colossæ. The Kiouk-bonar must be, therefore, the Cadmus.

But in order to establish this in the minds of my readers, as well as my own, it will be necessary, for a short time, to defer the continuation of our journey to Eski-hissar, and to turn aside to the ruins of Colossæ, or at least the description I have attempted to give in my first journey. And I feel assured, that the interest which Colossæ must excite in the mind of every Christian, will be a sufficient apology for the interruption.

“We quitted Denizli (April 1826) at a quarter before one o'clock for Khonas. At one crossed a small stream ; and at a quarter before two had a considerable river flowing down on our right, into which fell a small stream, which had been for

some time by the side of our road. At two o'clock crossed the same river by a new bridge of three arches. Shortly after, we saw the same river running about a quarter of a mile from our left hand, having over it another bridge, and immediately adjoining it, on the opposite side, a square building, with small round towers at the angles, called Bos-khan or Ak-khan.

“Our road now lay over a high and wide road to the east-south-east, parallel with, but at some distance from, the plain of the Lycus; and at twenty minutes before three, a village lay on our right hand. At a quarter past three, ascending a gently rising hill, passed a village on the left. At half past three saw a village standing very high on the mountain side on the right, and opposite to it in the plain below, on the left, some masses of rocks or old walls. At twenty-five minutes before four came to a small but beautifully clear stream, flowing close by the side of our road, on the left downwards towards the Lycus.

“We now entered a narrow road among rocks, and some fine pine trees, the scenery wild and

beautiful. At ten minutes before four, the same stream, which was now wider but shallow, to our astonishment, disappeared at once ! or rather appeared to issue by a subterraneous course from under a low hill. I was much struck, feeling convinced at the time that this could be no other river than the Lycus, and this the spot mentioned by Herodotus, at which it re-emerged. We dismounted and walked for a short time over the hill, in the direction of the river, fully expecting every moment to see the *χασμα γης*, in which it is said to disappear, but were disappointed. A few stones very much decayed lay about the hill, on one of which I saw a cross.

“Our janissary was so impatient to reach Khonas, which was now in view, that we mounted our horses, determined to come here again in the morning. At the distance of a quarter of an hour, we passed through a village, with a large burial-ground inclosed by a very long and old wall, in which I saw several fragments, as well as in the court-yards of some of the houses. A few moments afterwards we saw on our left a clear narrow stream, rushing down the side of a



low hill ; and instantly after crossed another, (if not the same.) There can be little doubt that this is the stream of which we had witnessed the re-emergement.

“ At twenty minutes before five crossed by a bridge a much larger river, flowing down from the mountain on the right, and soon after arrived at Khonas, situated most picturesquely under the immense range of mount Cadmus, which rises to a very lofty and perpendicular height behind the village, in some parts clothed with pines, in others bare of soil, with immense chasms and caverns.

“ Immediately at the back of Khonas, there is a very narrow and almost perpendicular chasm in the mountain, affording an outlet for a wide mountain torrent, the bed of which was now nearly dry ; and on the summit of the rock, forming the left side of this chasm, or ravine, stand the ruins of an old castle, once the residence, so Chandler tells us, of Soley Bey.

“ The approach to Khonas, as well as the village itself, is beautiful, abounding with tall trees, from which, as in Italy and at Sevri-hissar,



Engraved by L. Haghe

**CHONAS, — anciently COLLOSSE.**

(See p. 175 the Temple to the King)

*Published by R. Smith, London 1834.*



are suspended vines of the most luxuriant growth.

“On entering the village, and afterwards passing through it in search of a lodging, having the servant of the aga to accompany us, we passed several dry but wide and deep water-courses, worn by the torrents from mount Cadmus, which in a rainy season must be terrific.

“We soon attracted a crowd of Greeks about us, all of whom, as Smith formerly remarked, were ignorant of their own language, a priest only excepted, who, as in Smith’s time, was a native of Cyprus. It was with some difficulty that we found lodgings; several Greeks, at whose houses we applied, being either unable or unwilling to take us in.

“In the course of the evening I was requested to see a poor young woman who was extremely ill. Her disease was dropsy in a very advanced stage. In the want of medicines better suited to her case, I advised the external fomentation of spirits of wine, soap, and vinegar, and the bathing, if she could bear the journey, in the hot waters of Hierapolis.

“*Friday, April 7.*—It was no small satisfaction to find this morning that our patient was at least not worse for the prescription. It had produced very copious perspiration all night, and she breathed freer and without cough. A multitude of others came to consult the Hakim. \*

“ We rose very early with the intention of walking round the village, and after returning for our horses, to take a wider survey ; but when on the point of setting out, the aga sent to acquaint us, that if we wished to walk about we must have one of his men to attend us. We directly waited on the aga, accompanied by Memet ; he received us civilly enough, with pipes, coffee, &c., but having returned to our lodgings, and waited an immense time for the promised cicerone, Memet came to us with a request from the aga to see our firman. We sent him both the

\* A letter which I received from my Greek correspondent of Denizli in the beginning of July, announced the very unexpected and gratifying news that the poor woman had followed our prescriptions, having used the baths of Hierapolis, and was completely restored to her usual health ; and what is not of every-day occurrence, she expressed her gratitude in the warmest terms.

firman and the pasha's teskeray. After the lapse of at least another hour, Memet returned with a very long face ; the aga, he said, cared not a straw for the firman nor teskeray : he would not allow us to walk about, and there was but one course to be adopted — to leave the village instantly. Our horses were ordered to be loaded.

“ The conduct of the aga was so much in character with what we had read in Smith, who had no sooner entered Khonas than he ‘ thought fit to leave it,’ the inhabitants ‘ being a vile sort of people, so that he doubted of his safety among them,’ that we thought we could not do wiser than follow his example.

“ We recollected too, that Chandler had not ventured beyond Laodicea, because the frontier of the Cuthayan Pashalike ‘ was inhabited by a lawless and desperate people, who committed often the most daring outrages with impunity.’

“ This seemed to account at once for the little respect paid by the aga to the teskeray of the pasha of Smyrna, and even to the firman. We resolved, therefore, not to regain, as Chandler, the Pashalike of Guzel-hissar, but to get beyond

that of Kutaieh with as little delay as possible, and enter the Pashalike of Isbarta.

“ It was very vexatious to be compelled to abandon in this manner one principal object of our journey, the search for the real site of Colossæ ; particularly as the singular discovery of the re-emergement of a river yesterday gave such sanguine hopes. Memet was therefore sent once more to the aga ; and, conjecturing he might have taken offence at our approaching him without a present, Memet was directed to make apologies that we had nothing we could offer him, having brought neither coffee nor sugar, and begging his acceptance of a small sum of money instead of it. Memet was so long absent that we began to be apprehensive for his safety, and despatched Mustapha in search of him. After another hour we received permission to go where we pleased, and a man from the aga accompanied us.

“ We first ascended the rock on which the castle stands, an almost inaccessible steep, of enormous height ; on the summit are several fragments of old walls, but none of very ancient date.

“ Descending, we passed through the village on

the eastern side, and found it to be of considerable extent ; the multitude of fragments of marble pillars almost upon every terraced roof, used there as rollers, proved the existence of some considerable ancient town in the neighbourhood.

“ Rycaut, in his Turkish History, says that Khonas stands on the site of an ancient town called Passas ; but neither Stephanus, nor any other book that I have consulted, mentions such a town. We now turned to the west, under the village ; and having asked our guide for the Eski-sheer, (*the old city*,) he seemed instantly to understand our wishes, and took us towards the road by which we came yesterday from Denizli, though a little lower towards the plain.

“ After walking a considerable time, he brought us to a place where a number of large squared stones lay about, and then showed us what seemed to have been a small church, which had been lately excavated, having been completely under the surface of the soil. It was long and narrow, and semicircular at the east end.

“ Passing through several fields, in which were many more stones, I remarked one which had



an imperfect inscription. The only letters I could distinguish were TYOXY . . . . HNQN . . . Not far from hence we saw a few vaults, and were told by a Greek that some walls not far off were the remains of two churches.

“ Beyond this we came to a level space, elevated, by a perpendicular brow of considerable height, above the fields below. Here were several vestiges of an ancient city, arches, vaults, &c., and the whole of this and the adjoining grounds strewed with broken pottery.

“ From thence we went much further, in the hope of finding the river whose re-emergement we had witnessed yesterday ; and coming to a green ridge full of rocks, which seemed to have been cut either as a quarry or for other purposes, we observed under them several vaults with small square entrances. Our search for the river was so far ineffectual ; but it was evident that we were below it : and thunder, and a sky as black as night, threatening instant torrents, we retraced our course, and when the rain began, took shelter in a natural cave, formed of beautiful stalactites, immediately in the side of the perpendicular rock upon which the remains which

we had seen were placed. In many of the grounds adjoining were vaults and ancient vestiges, but we could find no inscriptions. We returned to the village, heartily tired, and sufficiently wet, about half past four o'clock. It was a severe disappointment to leave Khonas without ascertaining the actual existence of the *χασμα γης* in which the Lycus disappears. The small rivulet which flowed through the deep and wide water-course at the back of the village sinks into the earth in the middle of the village: and on inquiring, we were told that, both in summer and winter, whether with much or little water, this stream is always lost on its way. This, therefore, is evidently a mountain torrent, and were it not so, could not be the river which Herodotus describes. We next inquired about the direction of the river which we had crossed by a bridge near the village, on coming from Denizli; and we were assured that this pursues its course uninterruptedly down into the plain. I should be disposed to call this the Cadmus described by Strabo; and I should as unhesitatingly have called the stream, whose re-emergement we saw, the Lycus, if the Greeks at

Khonas had not assured us that the river near Akkhan, or Bos-khan-bridge, at three hours higher up, that is to say, nearer its source, disappears really in a chasm of the ground, and after three hundred fathoms re-emerges again, two hours from Denizli, and two hours and a half from Khonas."

"I asked a Greek mason, (when at Denizli a few weeks after,) if he knew any thing of the town of Colossæ? He replied, without hesitation, 'Perfectly well, and that it stood at Khonas, though no remains were now to be met with.' Willing to hear further evidence from so good an authority, I asked him if he knew any thing of a river in the neighbourhood, which disappeared in a chasm of the ground, and re-emerged at a small distance. He said there was such a river at Khonas, on this side of the village, and that he himself had often seen it. He described the distance from the disappearance of the river to its re-emergement, by pointing to a building about a hundred yards from his shop, and saying it was not twice that distance.

"This agrees with the account which was given by the Greeks at Khonas in some respects, but differs in others. It, however, proves that Co-

lossæ stood between Denizli and Khonas, at no great distance from the latter : the few remains, therefore, which we saw, were doubtless those of Colossæ.” \*

It is now perfectly established, that a disappearance and re-emergement of a river occur in *two* very different situations—that of the Kioukbonar, which we saw to day, and the other at or very near Khonas. I apprehend that this extraordinary sinking into the ground and re-appearance is also applied by the ancient authors to *two* distinct rivers.

Herodotus distinctly says, that the Lycus sunk into a cavity of the ground, and after a subterranean course of five stadia, nearly three quarters of a mile, re-appeared again and flowed into the Meander ; and that this *sinking* into the ground was within the city of Colossæ. †

Strabo describes the Lycus as having its source in mount Cadmus ; that it is a river of considerable size, and flows into the Meander. He afterwards mentions another river, which, from

Visit to the Churches, page 158.

† “ Ἐς χάσμα γῆς ἐμβάλλων ἔπειτα διὰ σταδίων ὡς μάλιστα κη πεντε ἀναφάνομενος, ἐκδίδοι εἰς τὸν Μαιάνδρον.”—*Herodotus*, lib. vii. cap. 30.

having its sources also in mount Cadmus, takes the name of the mountain. *This* river, he says, (not the Lycus, but the Cadmus,) flowing under ground, re-appears again, and after receiving other rivers, discharges itself, if I understand him, into the Lycus.

Most of the commentators of Strabo, recollecting the description given by Herodotus of the Lycus, have taken it for granted that Strabo is still speaking of that river, and describing its subterranean course; but the expression, *ὁὗτος ὑπὸ γῆς ῥέουνεις*, can only apply to the last-mentioned river, the Cadmus. \*

\* My correspondent of Denizli illustrates the course of the different streams by a plan; in which the Kiok Bounari flows down in the centre of the plain, between Hierapolis and Laodicea, and falls into the Meander; the stream which is in the centre of the plain between Khonas and Ak-khan bridge, and which falls into the Kiok Bounari, is the Tzoruk-sou, having the lateral streams of the Kouphos on the north, (the sources of which, called Chalki Bounari, or the petrifying spring, are at a short distance,) and the rivulet of Agios Panteleemon on the south. He places the head of the Tzoruk-sou at four hours east from Khonas.

The rivers in the vicinity of Laodicea and Colossæ are thus described by Strabo. “*Ἐνταῦθα δὲ ὁ Κάπρος, καὶ ὁ Λύκος συμβάλλει τῷ Μαιάνδρῳ ποταμῷ, ποταμὸς εὐμεγεθής· ἀφ’ οὗ καὶ ἡ πρὸς τῷ Λύκῳ Λαοδικεῖα λέγεται. Ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῆς πόλεως*

There is another circumstance which identifies the Kiouk bonar with the Cadmus. The subterranean course of this stream is not a third of a mile—my Denizli friend says not a *quarter*; whereas that of the Lycus was five stadia, not far from three quarters of a mile—a distance agreeing very well with the interval after we saw the re-emergement of the St. Panteleemon stream and before we arrived at the stream nearer Khonas.

But if any further evidence was required to identify Khonas with Colossæ, it will be supplied by the testimonies of Nicetas, who being a native of Khonas, was called Choniates, and who expressly says that Khonas was anciently called Palassais, a mistake of the transcriber of his manuscript for Colassais; and both Nicetas and Curopalates mention the magnificent church of the Archangel Michael, its profanation and destruction by the Turks, and the subterranean course of the river Lycus at the same place.

ὁρὸς Κάδμος, ἔξ οὗ καὶ ὁ Ἀνύκος ῥεῖ· καὶ ἄλλος ὁμώνυμος τῷ ὀρει·  
Τὸ πλέον δ' οὗτος ὑπὸ γῆς ῥύνει, εἴτ' ἀνακύνψας συνέπεσεν εἰς  
ταῦτο τοῖς ἄλλοις ποταμοῖς, ἐμφαίνων ἅμα τὸ πολυτρήτον τῆς  
χώρας, καὶ τὸ εὐσειστον.—Lib. xii. cap. 8. page 75.

In addition to these, my friend Mr. Hartley shall give his evidence, and I value it the more, because, on our first journey, he was certainly not satisfied that Colossæ was really at Khonas, and much more inclined to look for that city about the sources of the Kiouk bonar.

“ The Archangel Michael, called by the Greeks Taxiarches, is also an object of veneration. I have heard of some singular ideas arising from his worship at Colossæ, which bring into curious connexion the ancient historian Herodotus, the inspired apostle St. Paul, the primitive father Theodoret, and the modern Greek Synaxaria, or Legends.

“ Herodotus informs us that, at Colossæ, the river Lycus falls into a cavity of the earth ; and after proceeding under ground for a certain distance, re-appears, and pursues its course. St. Paul, in his epistle to the Colossians, (ii. 18,) offers warning in these terms : “ Let no man beguile you of your reward, in a voluntary humility and worshipping of angels.” Theodoret, in his comment on this passage, not only refers the worship of angels to the idea which had become prevalent, that the Deity was inaccessible, and

that it was proper to approach Him by some inferior mediator ; but he asserts, that up to his own times, a church of the archangel Michael existed in Phrygia.

“ The modern Greeks have a legend to this effect. An overwhelming inundation threatened to destroy the Christian population of that city. They were fleeing before it in the utmost consternation, and imploring superior succour for their deliverance. At this critical moment, the archangel Michael descended from heaven, *opened the chasm in the earth to which they still point*, and at this opening, the waters of the inundation were swallowed up and the multitude was saved.

“ The great haste under which I was compelled to visit Colossæ prevented my actual observation of the cavity which receives the river Lycus ; but I have heard from Greeks of a monastery dedicated to the Taxiarches, which was built, in commemoration of the event, at the entrance of the Lycus into the earth, and its remains are said to be still visible.” \*

The Byzantine historian Curopalates describing the manner in which the Turks profaned the far-

\* Researches in Greece, page 52.



famed temple of the archangel at Khonas, filling it with blood, and converting it into a stable, goes on to describe the subterraneous channel of the river, which, no longer confined within the miraculous chasm opened by St. Michael, rose to an extraordinary height, and drowned multitudes both Turks and Greeks; an event regarded by the latter as a punishment for their sins. Now in this account the expression τῶν χασματος σηράγγας, the sides or clefts of the chasm, applies well either to the mountain at the back of Khonas, or to the deep channel, through which the stream issuing from the cleft in the mountain passes and is lost.

But another remarkable word in this account identifies Khonas with Colossæ, and fixes the etymology of the former name. The river for which this cavity was opened by St. Michael, is spoken of as χωνευόμενος, a word which describes its subterranean course, as χωνευτής is applied to another river, which has a subterranean channel, in Greece. Therefore Khonas, clearly from the same root, carries with it historical evidence of the χασμα γης noticed so early as the times of Herodotus, as existing at Colossæ.\*

\* Μηδὲ τας τῶν χασματος σηράγγας, ἐν ᾧ περ αἱ παρρέοντες

After all this, it is scarcely necessary to add that my Greek correspondent of Denizli describes the ruins of the Taxiarches, or monastery of the archangel, as actually still existing at a very short distance in front, or to the north of the town, and between it and the re-emergement of the stream, called by the Greeks St. Panteleemon, but to which we shall take the liberty to restore its true name of the Lycus.

The names of the bishops of Colossæ, as they are given in the *Oriens Christianus* are.

Epaphras	Constantius
Philemon	Nicolaus, (1054)
Epiphanius	. . . . . 1066
Cosmas	. . . . . 1080
Doritheus	Nicetas.
Samuel	

ποταμῷ ἐκεῖσε χωνεύομενοι διὰ τῆς τοῦ ἀρχιστρατηγῶν παλαιᾶς ἐπιδημίας, καὶ θεοσημείας. *Civropalata Hist.* p. 652.

## CHAPTER VIII.

Arrive at Eski-hissar—Seriously ill, but walk to the ruins of Laodicea—Description of the site, and of two primitive churches—Bishops of Laodicea—Conveyed to Denizli in a buffalo cart—Leeches out of season—Illustrations of Scripture—Arabah conveyance to Sairakeuy—Cara Osman Cavalry—The Greek Papas and his hospitality—Holy loaves of St. Philip—Cross the Meander—Site of Carura—Miscalculation of distances, and consequently benighted—Arrival at Cushak.

AT a quarter past eleven o'clock we crossed the river by a bridge, still continuing to descend, the plain lying yet considerably beneath us. When in this plain, the plain of Denizli, we left that town about half or three quarters of an hour on the left; our companions quitted us, and as we proceeded, we descended lower still, for the plain of the Lycus is much lower than that of Denizli. We arrived at Eski-hissar at one o'clock.

The exposure to the excessive cold to-day and

yesterday brought on a violent inflammatory attack, and when about half way between Chokour and Eski-hissar, it was with difficulty I could sit on my horse. All the male population of Eski-hissar were at Denizli, being the bazaar day; and it was not till after being recognized by one of the ladies, my old friends of six years' standing, that we were installed once more in the same apartment I had occupied in my first journey.

It had been improved; the horses were no longer in the same apartment, as formerly, but in making the wall of separation, a large aperture was left, sufficient to stretch over their heads and neck, and to ask "How do ye do?" Kyriacos went to Denizli to replenish his commissariat stores, while I, whose proper position should have been in bed, with more zeal for antiquities than prudence, accompanied Mr. Dethier to the ruins of Laodicea.

We made the complete circuit of the city, having previously passed along the aqueduct of which the ruins ran north and south in a small plain. Leaving this aqueduct on the right, we arrived at the western end of the amphitheatre.

tre, and ascended the hill on which stood the city.

There is a road that leads in this direction towards the plain of the Lycus and Hierapolis; and following it, after passing several masses of walls on the right and left, to which it would be difficult to restore the original designation, we crossed a great road running east and west, leading at its western extremity by a bridge, now in ruins, over a small river, probably the Caprus, and having an eastern direction towards Khonas. Probably this road passes by Ak-khan, and the Kiouk Bonar, and falls after into the Denizli road to Khonas. Very near this great road we saw one of the theatres, and in a more northerly direction afterwards another.

But my attention, ill as I felt, was altogether absorbed by some very considerable masses of wall and foundations, on the southern side of the great road, and, as well as I recollect, not far from the centre of the city. There appears much reason to believe that this was a church; probably, from its form and extent, the metropolitan or cathedral of Laodicea.

It differs from the other churches I have

already described, in having *two* semicircular projections on the eastern end, as if a double bema. There seems to have been a short *straight* wall between them, otherwise I should have conjectured that the *altar* occupied another and larger semicircle in the centre, projecting beyond these; and in that case, they would be the recesses which Paulinus calls *Sacretoriums*; one on the right hand, and the other on the left hand of the altar. That on the right would be the *prothesis*, or *paratrapezon*, the side table, on which the offerings of the people were received, and out of which the bread and wine were taken to be consecrated at the altar. The other was for any of the priests, who might be disposed, to sit here and read the holy books.

I attempted a rough measurement by paces, and the result was, that the total length of the side walls, as far as the pronaos or portico, was about one hundred and sixty feet, the portico extending beyond them about forty more, making the total two hundred feet—the total breadth about one hundred feet: of this, the semicircular recesses were about eighteen feet each, and the

space between them, (where perhaps the larger recess for the altar stood,) twenty-two feet.

At the distance of about thirty-five feet from the eastern end was a wall across the breadth, in which were two door ways opposite to each of the circular recesses. This divided a space, which we might call the chancel, from the nave. There was a door into this space from each of the side walls, north and south.

The wall in which the great entrance gates must have been, was so encumbered with masses of the fallen building, that it was impossible to take any measurement; at least it was a matter of too much difficulty for me at the moment, though perhaps a future traveller, who may feel an equal interest in restoring the forms of edifices so identified with the earliest ages of Christianity, will be able to give to the public an infinitely more satisfactory account of these and similar temples elsewhere, than I have done.

On the northern side, at the distance of about forty feet, are four separate high masses of walls, each having remains of an arch. These seem to have been connected as *exedrae* to the church;

and still on the north side, some way beyond the termination of the portico, are remains of a circular building, which from its resemblance, and occupying the same relative position with the church, as that which I conjectured to have been a baptistery at Sagalassus, had possibly the same use.

At a short distance from this church, if I may venture to call it so, are other considerable remains, which having for the most part the same form, of two circular recesses at the eastern end, I should certainly consider to be another church—and in this, the space between the *two* circular recesses, is occupied by an angular projection, supporting the conjecture that in the former building as in this, *this* part, though angular externally, no doubt circular within, was the place of the grand altar.

This building, however, differs in its internal arrangement from the other, having, besides the wall in which were the great gates of entrance from the pronaos, the space between this and the eastern end divided by *two* walls, in which are open spaces as for doorways or arches, nearly in



a line with, and opposite to, each of the circular recesses.

The buildings, also, which in the former were attached to the northern wall, appear in this to have stood on the south side, and connected with the church, (if such it be,) by a large circular gateway at the upper or eastern end.\*

I now joined Mr. Dethier, who had been in a different direction; and taking a very hasty view of some other remains, one of which was of a circular form, and another semicircular, as if an odeon, and a large mass of walls standing above the amphitheatre, and connected with it by an arched entrance, possibly a gymnasium, we quit-  
ted the ruins and returned to Eski-hissar.†

\* Probably in one of these edifices were held the celebrated councils of Laodicea.

† “ ‘Laodicea,’ say Dr. Smith, ‘(called by the Turks Eski-hissar, or the Old Castle,) is situated upon six or seven hills, taking up a large compass of ground. To the north and north-east of it runs the river Lycus, at about a mile and a half distance, but more nearly watered by two little rivers, Asopus and Caper; whereof the one is to the west, the other to the south-east; both which pass into the Lycus, and that into the Meander. It is now utterly desolated, and without any inhabitants, except wolves, and jackalls, and foxes; but

*Bishops of Laodicea as collected in the Oriens  
Christianus.*

Archippus	Joannes.
Nymphas	Tyberius.
. . . . .	Eustathius,
Sagaris	Theodorus
Sisinnius I.	Sisinnius II.
Eugenius	Paulus
Nunechius I.	Simeon
Cecropius (hæreticus)	Michael (1082)
Nonnius	Basilus
Aristonicus	Theophylactes (1450.)
Nunechius II. (458)	

the ruins show sufficiently what it has been formerly, the three theatres and the circus adding much to the stateliness of it, and arguing its greatness. That whose entrance is to the north-east is very large, and might contain between twenty and thirty thousand men, having about fifty steps, which are about a yard broad, and a foot and a quarter in height one from another, the plain at the bottom being about thirty yards over. A second opens to the west; a third, a small one, (called by Chandler an odeum or music theatre,) to the south: the circus has about two-and-twenty steps, which remain firm and entire, and is above three hundred and forty paces in length from one end to the other, the entrance to the east. At the opposite extremity is a cave that has a very handsome arch, upon which we found an inscription, purporting, that the building occupied twelve years in the construction, was

I suffered severely from this fatiguing walk, and was compelled to make my bed at four

dedicated to Vespasian, and was completed during the consulate of Trajan in the 82nd year of the Christian æra.' What painful recollections are connected with this period! Twelve years were employed in building this place of savage exhibitions, and in the first of these years the temple of Jerusalem, which had been forty-eight years in building, was razed to its foundations, and of the Holy City not one stone was left upon another, which was not thrown down! This abomination of desolation was accomplished by him to whom this amphitheatre was dedicated, and may have been in honour of his triumph over the once favoured people of God. Perhaps in this very amphitheatre the followers of a crucified Redeemer were a few years afterwards exposed to the fury of wild beasts, by the order of the same Trajan, of whose character the predominant lines were clemency and benevolence.

“ ‘ It is an old observation, that the country about the Meander, the soil being light and friable, and full of salts generating inflammable matter, was undermined by fire and water. Hence it abounded in hot springs, which, after passing under ground from the reservoirs, appeared on the mountain, or were found bubbling up in the plain or in the mud of the river; and hence it was subject to frequent earthquakes; the nitrous vapour compressed in the cavities, and sublimed by heat or fermentation, bursting its prison with loud explosions, agitating the atmosphere, and shaking the earth and waters with a violence as extensive as destructive; and hence, moreover, the pestilential grottoes, which had subterraneous communications with each other, derived their noisome effluvia; and serving as smaller vents to these furnaces or hollows, were regarded

o'clock, passing a very restless, distressing night.

*Friday, Nov. 23.*—By my indisposition, all our plans were deranged, and instead of going to Hierapolis, which I was very anxious to revisit, in order to examine with more attention the gymnasium, the mephytic cavern, and, above all, the three large churches, I was obliged to remain in bed, the apartment crowded to excess by all the Turks of the village, in endless succession coming and going, and stifling me with the smoke of their pipes.

A stable, under any circumstances, is but a sorry place for a sick bed, but to have it filled with such company, torturing me with a thousand foolish questions, was enough to give fever, if sufficient had not existed already. To my

as apertures of hell, as passages for deadly fumes rising up from the realms of Pluto. One or more of these mountains perhaps has burned; and it may be suspected, that the surface of the country, Laodicea in particular, has in some places been formed from its own bowels.' To a country such as this how awfully appropriate is the message of the Apocalypse: 'I know thy works that thou art neither cold nor hot: I would thou wert cold or hot. So then, because thou art lukewarm, and neither cold nor hot, I will spue thee out of my mouth.'"

*Visit to the Churches, p. 85.*

friend Dethier I was indebted for a thousand kind acts : he tried patiently to make acetate of lead by beating shot thin as paper, and boiling them in vinegar, &c.

Though it was not part of our original plan to go to Denizli, yet, as the accommodations of a khan are at all times better than a stable, we determined to go there ; but I was too ill to go either on foot or on horseback. The only conveyance was a carriage ; but how or where find a carriage among the ruins of Laodicea ? The Roman proconsul no longer existed, or we might have thrown ourselves upon his charity, and perhaps have been accommodated with a chariot of state.

However, we did find a carriage, and with it I made my *entré* into Denizli, and if not with proconsular dignity, yet with sufficient importance to attract the eyes of all the good folks of the town.

A Turk of Eski-hissar was yoking a pair of buffaloes to his plough, and finding that another was the proprietor of an arabah, my friends immediately concluded a contract, by which the

buffaloes were unyoked from the plough, and harnessed to the arabah to convey me to Denizli.

An arabah, for the information of such of my readers as have never seen one, is composed of two or three planks, neither wide nor smooth, fixed on two solid blocks of wood about four feet diameter, and which being something like round, are dignified with the name of wheels. This machine serves for all the purposes of the farm and market; and to prevent the contents from slipping off the narrow planks, two side wings are occasionally fixed, consisting of two or more other planks, and forming, with the bottom of the carriage, a very obtuse angle, on either side, and about four or more feet high.

In this machine, mattresses and paplomas being tastefully arranged, the good-natured black steeds conveyed me with as much care and tenderness as they could, with now and then some terrible jogs, to Denizli, not at the rate of a steam carriage between Liverpool and Manchester, but at all events, at about two miles and a half the hour.

On arriving, and being lodged in the khan, my

friends went in search of what Eski-hissar did not afford, but which we calculated on finding in abundance in the large town of Denizli—*leeches*. They came back disappointed. There were doctors upon doctors in the place, that is to say, barber surgeons, and even one M. D. with a Frank hat, but not a single leech had been heard of since the month of May. About that season, I was told, how truly I pretend not to say, that *leeches* are in vast request, bleeding being the order of the day ; and the whole population, whether really in fever, or intending to be so, leech themselves most unmercifully ; after which, the poor operators, or the survivors of them, enjoy complete holiday till the following year.

They went out again to engage another arabah to convey me to Guzel-hissar ; for our Eski-hissar friends were too busy about their tillage to take a longer journey. They returned again disappointed ; not an arabah could be found in Denizli.

The prospect of being detained here, perhaps, till the winter rains fell, was not very consolatory ; and it would be absurd not to admit that

I began to feel a little uneasy ; resigning myself, at the same time, to the will of God, to be dealt with as he thought fit. We had written letters to our friends in Smyrna, and it was another disappointment to find no other opportunity of forwarding them than by a camel caravan, which would not arrive in less than nine days !

*Saturday, Nov. 24.*—Mr. Dethier and Kyriacos went again this morning to Eski-hissar, to prevail, if possible, on our friends there to accompany us to Guzel-hissar, but neither arabah nor buffaloes could be parted with ; and while Kyriacos returned to me with the discouraging intelligence, Mr. Dethier went on to Hierapolis, where he made numerous sketches.

Towards the afternoon, Milcom introduced a Turk into my apartment, the proprietor of an arabah, and after a little bargaining, he engaged to convey me to Guzel-hissar in four days, for one hundred and forty piastres, at the present exchange about one pound fifteen shillings. His first demand being, as usual, about double that sum.

The day passed gloomily enough in bed, and the peculiarity of my situation, on a sick bed in a khan, would have given rise to many a dis-



tressing thought, if I had not endeavoured to divert them by the following and similar reflections.

It has already been attempted to illustrate the “camel passing through the eye of a needle,” and at the time when this remarkable expression was used, our Lord was in a *certain village*, for in the preceding chapter it is said that “as he went to Jerusalem, he passed through the midst of Samaria and Galilee; and that he entered into a *certain village*.” Comparing, then, the usages of former times with those of the present day, our Lord and his attendants, as travellers, could only be accommodated in the public caravansera, or khan, where indeed is found nothing more than shelter, as all the accommodation is a room with not a single article of furniture within it; and very frequently in a country village, many travellers are lodged in the same room, but if not, in the same khan, probably in those days, as now, having an open area with chambers all round it.

This open space is commonly occupied by camels and camel-drivers, who usually *live* and sleep in the open air with the camels. No one can have been often in one of these places without observing the camel-driver sitting on his

heap of camel furniture, and either repairing it after his arrival, or putting it in order for continuing his journey. Our Lord then had a scene before him, familiar and striking to the eyes of those whom he addressed.

I cannot resist the inclination to point out how much more of our Lord's discourse on this occasion may be illustrated by the same very probable, almost certain, supposition that he was actually lodged, as a traveller, in a khan.

Before he came to it, as he was at the *entrance* of the village, he cured the lepers. They were at the entrance of the village, not permitted by the Mosaic law to be within it; and the wretched victims of the same loathsome disease may be seen at any time, *without* the city of Smyrna and other towns, sitting by the wayside and imploring charity.

The allusion to the lightning might have been taken from its actual appearance at the moment, being of continual occurrence in the summer months; and the flat-roofed chambers of the khan, upon which probably were many persons seated at the moment, from the connexion with the adjoining houses, afforded a figure of more

expeditious flight than by descending into the area, and escaping by the door of the khan; and if any proof of this is wanted, the dreadful earthquake at Aleppo in 1822 will abundantly supply it; for multitudes saved their lives by passing from roof to roof by the terraces, while those who went down into the streets were crushed to death by the falling houses.

The figure of two men in one bed, is every moment before the eyes of a lodger in a khan, where the wearied camel drivers, and caterdjis, are reposing on the ground, not in a fore-post bedstead, but wrapt up in their benishes, or thick white felt cloaks, their only bed and bedding.

The women laboriously turning round the ponderous stone in the olive-mill, or the more portable stones of a corn-mill, must have been an every-day sight, either within or at the door of the khan; and no one has been in an eastern climate who has not witnessed the horrible *tameness* with which the vultures (or eagles) will approach the habitations of men, attracted by the dead carcasses, so revoltingly left upon the spot where they have died. “Whithersoever the body is, thither will the eagles be gathered together.”

In the evening we were extremely uneasy at the absence of Mr. Dethier and Suleiman. It grew dark : six o'clock, and half past six, and he did not appear. I had given Milcom orders to go to the aga, and request he would send out some of his men in search of him, when he arrived. He had been detained outside the walls, the gates being all shut, and had made the entire circuit of the town : refused admittance at some of the gates, till the guardians of one were more kind-hearted at the sight of a few piastres.\*

While Mr. Dethier, separated from Suleiman, was examining the ruins of Hierapolis, he was awe-struck at finding the death-like solitude of the place, disturbed by the deep groans of a person in distress ; he listened, and the groans were repeated, and deeper and deeper. The sounds evidently proceeded from beneath the spot on which he was standing. Advancing a few yards, he saw the entrance of a vaulted passage—pro-

\* I have at different times purchased small collections of medals from the coin-venders of Denizli, and they generally consisted of Laodicea, Hierapolis, Tripolis, Tabæ, Aphrodisia, Attalia, Apamea, Cibyra. The coins of Colossæ and Themisonium, though these towns are not more remote from Denizli than some of the others, are of very rare and unusual occurrence.

bably this was among the vast ruins of the gymnasium ; the sounds were faint from distance, but they were more frequent, as if the sufferings of the individual from whom they proceeded, and the danger of his situation, were considerably increased.

Mr. Dethier looked around in every direction ; not a human being was to be seen any where—not even Suleiman—and yet these were clearly the groans of a person in deep distress. Without farther reflection, his humanity at once suggested the duty of endeavouring to rescue a fellow-creature, who, from some unknown cause, was evidently in need of his assistance. He entered the vaulted passage, or looked down from an aperture from above, I forget which—the sounds were repeated, and stronger and stronger.

He perceived something moving within the vault, and succeeded in getting sufficiently near to distinguish the object of his humane anxiety. It was not a fellow-man, but a buffalo calf which, enticed by the warm spring above, had ventured too near an aperture, and fallen down into the vault. Mr. Dethier succeeded in releasing the poor animal, whose gratitude, no doubt, if he

could have expressed it, would have been in proportion to the obligation.

*Sunday, Nov. 25.*—My journal of to-day commences, “ Another sabbath, and, instead of being at my post in Smyrna, unable to move from an horizontal position, by an affection which may perhaps disable me from ever returning thither.” Notwithstanding this gloomy anticipation, we left Denizli at a quarter past ten.

The voiture was arranged with some dari straw on the unsmooth planks ; a mattrass rolled up to support the back, and that propped by an enormous sack-full of provender for the buffaloes ; two paplomas covered the dari straw. When all the interior was arranged, I walked with difficulty to the gate of the Greek khan, and seated myself. The movement over the stones was horrible, and continued for a considerable way beyond the town. Among the sainted names of Epaphras, and St. Michael, St. George, and St. Demetrius, gladly would I have placed M'Adam.

When we had proceeded some distance, clouds of dust, of which there was quite enough before, announced the approach of some distinguished personages, and from the disturbance they gave

the road, and the speed with which they rode, it was evident that their object was an urgent one. They soon overtook us, nor did they condescend to tarry long with us. They announced themselves as some of the *brave* cavaliers of Cara Osman Oglou, flying with all the speed of their horses' heels from Ibrahim Pasha, who entered Konia ten days ago, just a day or two after we quitted Galandos ; so that we were within three or four days' march of his highness ; and had we gone on to Konia, as we proposed, we should have had the honour of entering that city on the same day with him.

The view of Hierapolis was constantly in sight, and as our sedate mode of travelling gave ample space for observation, it was perpetually tantalizing me. The terrace, on which the city stood, extended apparently several miles ; and behind the largest of the petrifications, high up in the mountain side, is a deep recess far into the mountain.

Perhaps it was in this recess that Chandler discovered the stadium. If Mr. Cockerell had not discovered the Plutonium, or mephytic cavern, near the theatre, the position anciently assigned to it, I should have ventured to suppose it lay within

this recess; for the experiments made in the former do not seem conclusive. \*

It was twenty minutes past four when we came to Sairikeuy. Mr. Dethier and Kyriacos rode on before me, and were fortunate in doing so. The new khan was crowded with people, and music was sounding in every direction. It was the celebration of a marriage. We could make no interest with the khanji, for the khan had a different master since our first journey. It was not with better effect that we used the name of Panaretos, the archbishop of Philadelphia, and spoke of the kind manner in which we had been received and lodged by him.

It seemed probable that we were destined to

\* It was a serious disappointment not to have been able to see and take the plans of the three churches at Hierapolis. I can only give the list of bishops from the Oriens Christianus.

Heros.	Auxanon.
Papias.	Sisiunius
Abercius I.	Ignatius.
Abercius II.	Nicon.
Claudius Apollonaris.	Arseber, 997.
Flaccus.	— 1066.
Lucius.	—
Abonentius.	Georgius.
Stephanus.	— In the time of the emperor
Abercius III.	Isaac Angelus.



pass the night in the court of the khan, when a priest, who had known Mr. Hartley and myself, kindly offered us his own chamber, that is, the moiety, for the other was occupied by himself. The adjoining apartment was fitted up as the church.

We were soon visited by crowds; it would appear all the friends and cousins of bridegroom and bride, who were anxious to show their respects to the priest's guests, if not with a little itching of curiosity, and a wish to display their smart clothes, and the gold streamers floating from the button-holes. Extended on my bed, suffering much, and unable to speak, I would gladly have dispensed with their visits.

*Monday, Nov. 26.*—Whether or no our brethren of the Greek church are quite as orthodox as ourselves, I will not here venture to inquire; but certainly they are much earlier at their devotions than most of my Protestant friends. When I had the honour of sleeping in the metropole or palace of the archbishop Panairetos at Philadelphia, our slumbers were considerably shortened by the passage of several priests through our apartment, to go to the bishop's long before day, previous to the morning service.

To day, our good priest rose long before day, and lighting a candle from the nearly expiring lamp that was burning before the *Panagia*, he went out and came in fifty times, always intent on his morning prayers, which he continued to repeat in a half audible tone and pretty quick rate, without intermission, except when, as a sort of recitative, he scolded a poor Greek boy, and that was not unfrequently, for his tardiness in doing his work.

We afterwards heard the chaunting of the mass for the festival of St. Philip. This good saint obliged us very much, for he gave us a loaf of excellent bread,—that is, a holy loaf which had received the priest's benediction, having been marked with the holy seal, I. X. NIKA, before it was sent to the oven.

It seems, that on every saint's day, all persons bearing the same name, that is, all who have the honour to be born on the saint's day, for they are baptized by the same name, as my friend Kyriacos, because born on a Sunday, was baptized after the name of that day, make an offering of a loaf to the priest; so as there are numerous Philips in Sairikeuy, to one of these, through Kyriacos's good offices with the priest, we were

indebted for our loaf. It must not be concealed, that in the first instance, the priest sent us half a one, and that mouldy ; but as this neither suited our appetites nor taste, Kyriacos speedily prevailed upon him to pay a better compliment to our discernment.

Among our visitors was a native of the island of Samos, evidently a man above the common class of his countrymen, and who took much kind interest in my indisposition, providing us with leeches to take with us. He was lately returned from Constantinople, where he had conversed, by his own account, with the ambassadors on the affairs of Samos ; and declared the determination of every Samiote to die, rather than return again under the Turkish rule.

However exaggerated this may appear, it is supported by the fact that the Samiotes even yet refuse to submit ; and the formidable fleet which is about to sail against the obstinate islanders, will probably inflict a severe chastisement. The friends of humanity must tremble at the recollection of Scio and Ipsara ; but the times are happily changed, and the sanguinary horrors which stained the earlier days of the Greek revolution are not likely to occur again.

We left the apartment of our hospitable papas, at twenty minutes before nine, with *ice* thick in every direction where there was a drop of water, and at half-past nine came to the wooden scaffolding, called a bridge, over the Meander.

As the arabah could not be *drawn* over this long wooden machine, and I had no wish to be thrown into the river if it could—for the Meander was wide, at least twenty feet deep, and rushing down with the impetuosity of a tremendous torrent—I walked over, and the arabah was afterwards drawn across by the united efforts of the arabahji, Milcom and Suleiman; and the buffaloes, not a little alarmed, for the fabric shook under their heavy tread, were at length prevailed on to follow.

At twelve o'clock, being now on the opposite bank of the river from my first journey, we crossed a stream flowing down into the Meander, which had the strong taste of *sal ammonia*, and a great deal of the salt itself was whitening the ground. It was subsequently analysed at Smyrna, and decided to be the native salt.

Our conducteur, the arabahji, assured us there were *hummums*, or hot baths, a little way on the mountain on the right, as well as on the opposite

or south side of the river ; for we were now opposite to the *hot springs* from which so much vapour is always rising in three or four directions. Another *white patch*, exactly similar to that at Hierapolis, is visible on the mountain side high above the vapours ; and on the left of the high peak adjoining, we saw something glittering, either a cascade or frozen water.

It cannot be much matter of surprise that no vestiges are known to exist of the site of Carura, the Cydrara of Herodotus, celebrated for its hot baths, and the boundary of Caria and Phrygia, if the tradition be true, that while a large company were revelling in one of the khans, it underwent the awful punishment of Dathan and Abiram, being swallowed up by an earthquake.\*

It was near one o'clock when we passed the hut of the Ferry lying down on the left, and from thence had a long and tedious ride, till we reached a café where we had purposed to conac. It was probably near four o'clock,

\* A correction of the distances on the Tabular Itinerary has already been suggested ; and there is much reason to believe the vi over Carura should be xvi, which would then be just the distance between that place and Antioch on the Meander ; and the xx, following Carura, would be nearly the real distance between Carura and Laodicea.

for arabah travelling is not the most expeditious. The café was already full of guests, and Mr. Dethier proposed, on the recommendation of the arabahji, to go on to another, said to be very good, and at only two hours' distance.

I doubted the fact, having no recollection of any such café, but as the arabahji was positive, with the addition that a village lay very near it, at a short distance on the right, which he said had still better accommodations, I assented, but with much reluctance ; and our arabah and buffaloes, palanks and paplomas, were once more in motion.

We travelled, and travelled on and on : it became dark—the two hours, and three hours, and four hours had gone by, but no café as yet appeared. At last we came to a miserable hut, deserted, which was declared to be the café so long desired. We now stretched our eyes, as well as darkness would permit, to find the village with its superior accommodation, declared by the arabahji to be only ten minutes off.

Alas ! we rode and rode, on and on, but no village was to be seen, though we were now and then deceived by the fires of Eurukes, on right and on left, and the flickering flame running along the

mountain side among the brush wood, like the ignition of detached trains of gunpowder.\* We travelled on almost in despair, till another hut by the road side, reminded the arabahji, (whose eyes were better than mine, for I could neither see café, hut, nor any thing else,) that we were near the town of Cujak or Cushak.

Kyriacos and Milcom went on in advance, and when we arrived at half-past nine, after thirteen hours' march, we found they had prevailed on the proprietor of a stable to allow us to sleep therein with our horses and buffaloes; for every other house had been shut for hours. Supplied with wood for a fire, Milcom roasted our goat's flesh on a wooden spit, and at midnight we retired to rest, which our animals, not separated as at Eski-hissar, threatened more than once to disturb, by walking over us.

\* No one who has seen this almost every-day sight of the fire in the mountains, and which is done partly by the Euruke charcoal burners, and more frequently merely to clear the ground, can forget the eighty-third Psalm, verse 14th: "As the fire burneth a wood, and as the flame setteth the mountains on fire."

## CHAPTER IX.

Police interrogation—Robbers hung near Nosli bazaar—Village of Ak-chay—The Zebek leader Kel Mehmet—Ruins of Nysa—Attention of Cara Osman Oglou to the safety of travellers—Meandering course of the Arabah—Arrive at Guzel-hissar—The drunken Dervish—Cara Osman Oglou—Pedigree of his family—Treatment of the family by Ibrahim Pasha—Murder of the Aga of Cassaba.

*Tuesday, Nov. 27.*—Though we rose refreshed, one of our bed-fellows was destined to rise no more. We had frequently, during the night, heard the moans as of a person in distress. It was a poor ass lying near us in the last agonies.

We left Cujak at a quarter before nine, but had not proceeded far when the Turkish authorities, whoever they were, for aga there was none, peremptorily demanded to see our passports. The baggage-horse was obliged to be unloaded, and I had the trouble of unpacking my portmanteau



to find the firman. However, the teskeray was thought sufficient, and the firman was returned to its place. The great men declared themselves satisfied, and they would not have been more so if they had seen the firman, as they could not have read a word of it.

It was ten minutes after twelve when we came to Nosli Bazaar. The place seemed a desert, not a single individual to be seen. My companions being in advance, rode to the larger town of the same name on the left, and soon overtook my voiture with some excellent chalva.

Previously to entering Nosli, the arabah passing close to a large walnut-tree, brought me into close and unexpected contact with the body of a young man hanging from one of the branches. A short way out of the town of Nosli, we saw another body of an older man, hung from a branch of another walnut-tree, but so low that his feet just touched the ground. Several Turks were stationed at a short distance, guarding the body, and we learnt that two others which we had not seen, were hanging on the road from Cujak.

This part of the country had for a considerable time been infested with robbers, and the travelling dangerous ; and it was somewhere on this road that Lady Franklin and Dr. Clarke were, in the last autumn, prevented by an aga from advancing, feeling that he would be held responsible for their safety. The robbers, who had been executed last night or to-day, were part of this gang, and the deserted appearance of Nosli was accounted for, as well as the strict examination we had undergone from the constituted authorities of Cujak.

The hills on the right, all along this road, have a singular concave appearance ; resembling exactly ruined theatres with the seats removed. The same singular low micacious sand-hills *belted* the higher back ranges, as we had seen at Sardis, Hierapolis, Bourdour, &c.

The weather brightened ; it became the heat of summer, with a cloudless sky. We took coffee at a guard-house, at twenty minutes past one o'clock, and met armed men patrolling in all directions. The burial-ground with so many fragments was not far from this ; and at two o'clock

the village of Isaybeylee lay in far on the right, at an opening of the mountain.

We intended to sleep at Cush or Cusk, about three or four hours farther on; but our arabaji declared that his buffaloes, after their thirteen hours' march of yesterday, could not go so far, and we stopped at the village of Ak-chay, or, according to the orthography of Kyriacos, Achtza, at twenty minutes before three, and after our stable accommodation of last night, were most agreeably surprised to find a capital cafinet, with all the luxuries of milk, caimak, &c. The rebel leader of the Zebeks, Kel Mehmet, was from this village.

This extraordinary man, like Tamerlane and Ibrahim Pasha, constituted himself the reformer of existing abuses; but with this remarkable difference in his favour, that whilst the former, at least the Egyptian Pasha, used this pretext as a cloak for the promotion of selfish and ambitious objects; the Kel Mehmet gave no evidence of his being otherwise than what he professed to be.

Major Keppel gives the following account of this man, and his followers; and it is the best

account I have heard of them. “ The Zebeks, like the Swiss, are a band of mercenary mountaineers, employed, as were the Albanians, in the capacity of body-guards to the pasha. They formed also a kind of guard in the coffee-houses, and had a right to levy a tax upon the traveller, for the protection they afforded him on the road. This sum, though trifling, was sufficient for their subsistence, and was willingly given by those from whom it was demanded. About the time of the extinction of the janissaries, the government forbade their attendance on the coffee-houses; by which a large body of armed men were turned loose upon the community. The Zebeks afterwards refused to pay a war tax, continued after the peace was concluded, and were soon completely organised under their chief, who had the title of Kel Mehmet. This man’s name was Kootchook Mehmed Aga-hadji, “ Little Mehmed Aga the pilgrim.”

His followers at first did not amount to sixty, but they rapidly increased to many thousands; and from refusing, in the first instance, to pay the war tax, they declined all contributions that did not go directly into the

coffers of the grand seignior. The agas of many villages were deposed, and the followers of the Kel Mehmet placed in their stead, and it is remarkable that prosperity followed in the villages where such changes were made. The Kel Mehmet had the reputation of being a just but severe man, and soon acquired a large extent of territory.

Like Ibrahim Pasha, he even fixed his head quarters at Guzel-hissar, and sent a detachment to take possession of Cassaba: at length, after many an unsuccessful struggle against the forces of the government, they were defeated and dispersed, and Cara Osman Oglou was most instrumental in this dispersion, as he was most interested in it; the most active scene of the Zebek rebellion being within his own government.

*Wednesday, Nov. 28.*—We passed an excellent night, and by the kindness of an ever-compassionate God, I was much better this morning. Ak-chay is supposed by Pococke to occupy the site of Briula; but on inquiring about the numerous fragments in the burial-ground, I was told they were brought from Sultan-hissar. On the fountain is a marble with a cross and letters, probably from the church of Nysa.

My *conducteur* last night said it was impossible to proceed farther than this place ; but when he asked for forty piasters this morning, I found he had other motives besides the inability of his steeds. The neighbourhood of Ak-chay abounds with chesnut-trees, and to load his arabah with a back freight of chesnuts was not an unprofitable speculation. Very probably, too, *terror* after the sight of the hanging robbers, gave him a preference for travelling by day-light.

A short way out of the village, which we left at half-past eight, we saw in the burial-ground two circular mausoleums, with a tomb, and lighted lamps in each ; whether the tombs of saints, or of some distinguished family, we did not learn. At a quarter before nine we came to a café, with a circular building near it, for the charitable distribution of water to the weary and thirsty traveller. We crossed a stream at half-past nine or a quarter before ten, and came to a café and some houses.

Shortly after the ruins of Nysa are seen, high in the mountain ravine on the right. At ten o'clock there was another café in the road, and at half-past ten another called Kete-café. More

properly, these should be called guard houses, for though they supply the traveller with the usual luxuries of pipes and coffee, yet they have been erected lately by Cara Osman Oglou, for the better protection of the road.

It was ten minutes after twelve when we arrived at Cush, or Cusk. Mr. Dethier and Kyriacos had preceded, and were waiting for the slower advance of the buffalo chariot. At twenty minutes after one we passed a watercourse with a few houses, and at ten minutes before two a fountain. At twenty minutes past two was another café; at thirty-five minutes past two *another*, and fountain; and at twenty minutes before four, *another*, and houses. I particularise them so minutely in order to show the attention paid by Cara Osman Oglou to the safety and comfort of travellers, as they approach the seat of his government, for the fountains as well as cafés have been built at his expense. The road all the way was excellent, though ankle deep in dust

Inclosures of fruit trees, especially of fig-trees, probably of the species held in so much esteem by the ancients, called *Antiochene*, and three-

leafed,\* were on both sides of the road; the mountains on the right, *belted* as before, in front, by low hills, *pointed*, and of every form and colour, resembling, as before, sand-hills. If some of these had not been too elevated, I should have supposed the land had *sunk* between them and the Meander, leaving these detached fragments, which, full of micacious particles, resemble altogether the ground over which the road passes.

It was now growing dark, and Mr. Dethier and Kyriacos rode on to Guzel-hissar, to prevent the gates being shut against us, or to get them opened, if closed. Milcom, who remained with me, led the buffaloes a dance up and down mountain-side and vale, right and left; for, by his unhappy facility always to prefer a wrong road to the right one, he had diverted the poor animals out of their straightforward correct course and level road, into the more picturesque than pleasant one, which his lively imagination liked best.

\* I think this is improperly translated, and that instead of *three-leafed*, Strabo meant to say that each leaf was divided into three segments, for I have often seen fig-trees of that description.



It was now pitchy dark, and we were still meandering up and down the mountain-side, and might have done so all night, if a Turk had not put us in the right road we had quitted. It was between five and six when we arrived at Guzel-hissar; the gates were shut, but as we were expected, they were as readily opened; and we made our way through the streets, till they became too narrow to permit the arabah to pass. The attempt, notwithstanding, was made, and we soon stuck fast between the projecting shop-boards of opposite houses.

At this moment, a Dervish, apparently much intoxicated, made a great noise, demanding money in a very insolent tone, and opposing our further advance. This was unnecessary, for the carriage was firm as the ark upon Ararat. However, as the man was extremely troublesome, I bawled to him to get out of the way, with as much Turkish as I was master of, and finally succeeded in getting rid of him. The khan was still at a considerable distance, and several steep streets to be ascended; but there was no alternative; therefore saying good night to the buffaloes and arabahji, I walked, though with difficulty, to the khan.

When very near the great gate, I was surprised to find my friend the Dervish again by my side ; he whispered in my ear, *Hosh gelde*, "you are welcome," in a tone which was not only that of a man most perfectly sober, but of much civility and respect. It is probable he was in disguise ; a spy, either of the sultan, or of Cara Osman Oglou ; perhaps even the latter himself. This is the more probable, as the successes and advance of Ibrahim Pasha were known at Guzel-hissar ; and the unusual occurrence of travellers arriving after the gates were shut, and demanding that they should be opened, would naturally excite, or ought to excite, the suspicions and investigation of a good governor. It was a very short time afterwards that the sultan's authority actually ceased in Guzel-hissar. The governor was displaced by Ibrahim Pasha, and one of his partizans, supported by a strong Egyptian force appointed in his stead.

If it was really Cara Osman Oglou, times are changed since the founder of his house lived here ; and though he was proprietor of the khan, we neither called upon him nor sent him presents. Such want of respect would not have

passed off so easily formerly, for we are told by Van Egmont, that his first business on arriving at Guzel-hissar was to send presents early in the morning to the pasha, "being warned by the example of some Dutch merchants, who travelling here, with the late Dr. Franklin, chaplain of the prison, were thrown into confinement by the pasha, under pretence that they were spies; though the true intention was to extort money from them. But the gentlemen of Smyrna espoused their cause so zealously, that they soon procured an order from the Porte for their discharge, and the pasha was deposed. We, however, thought it advisable to purchase the favour of this officer by valuable presents, especially as he was pasha both of the city and adjacent country, and therefore it would have been very improper to offer him trifles."

This pasha was no other than the ancestor of Cara Osman Oglou, and the description of him by Van Egmont is the following: "This pasha, who is dignified with two horse-tails, and is also *teftesti*, or governor of the country, is called Osman Oglou, and is the same who some years since made all Natolia tremble, as captain of a

corps of banditti, consisting of four thousand horsemen, with which he overrun the country, raising contributions from persons of fortune, and committing all manner of violences. The Grand Seignior, however, at length pardoned him, possibly more out of fear than any other motive, and conferred on him this post, which is very considerable.”

The reader may be curious to know what the presents were that were considered worthy of being offered to this distinguished personage. “To the pasha himself, three boxes of sweetmeats, three of prunelles, three okes of pepper, three okes of coffee, and two of sugar; to the pasha’s caiaja, or lieutenant, an oke of sugar, one of pepper, one of coffee, a box of prunelles, and another of sweetmeats; to the capilarcajacisgi, an oke of coffee, one of pepper, and one of sugar; and to the two chaous, two piastres each, and the same to the oglancicler.”

The family of Cara Osman Oglou, distinguished alike by their power and their misfortunes, are historically described in the following lines of Lord Byron :

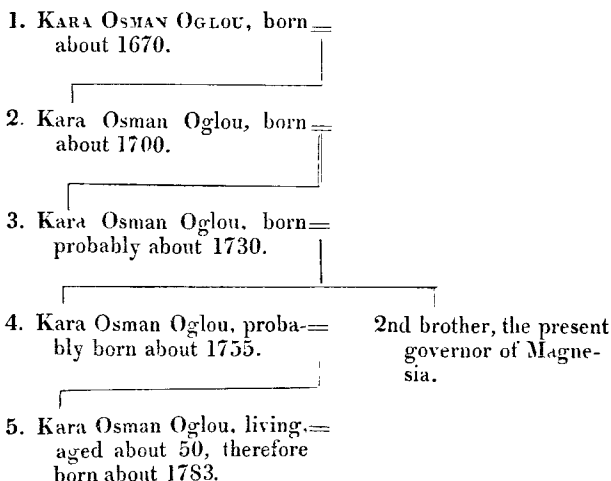
We Moslem reck not much of blood,  
But yet the line of Carasman,  
Unchanged, unchangeable, hath stood  
First of the bold Timariot bands  
That won, and well can keep their lands.

And his lordship adds, in a note : “ Carasman Oglou, or Carà Osman Oglou, is the principal landholder in Turkey ; he governs Magnesia ; those who, by a kind of feudal tenure, possess land on condition of service, are called Timariots : they serve as spahis, according to the extent of territory, and bring a certain number into the field, generally cavalry.”

It would be inferred from the above, that the line of Carasman had “ stood unchanged and unchangeable ” for a period almost coëval with the prophet himself ; but by the account of Van Egmont, it clearly appears that the foundation of all the territorial consequence of the family was not of earlier date than a few years previous to the travels of Van Egmont.

As civilization has not advanced so far in the Ottoman empire, notwithstanding Tactico uniform, and the court dresses *à la Parisienne*, recently introduced, as to have a college of arms,

or parish registers, we must endeavour to sketch a pedigree from the incidental notices of travellers.



1. Van Egmont describes Osman Ogloou, governor of Guzel-hissar and the neighbouring country, as a very graceful person, and between fifty and sixty years of age, about the year 1720.

2. Of this Osman Ogloou I can find no account; but evidently there must have been this descent between the last and the following.

3. Hasselquist, when at Magnesia in 1750, says of this person: "The Musselim was so *young*, that his whiskers had but just begun to

grow, and was therefore early enough appointed to such a considerable employment. Cara Osman Oglou, one of the most remarkable persons at this time under the Turkish government, was his father. He had found means to get the command over all this part of Natolia, which reaches from Smyrna to Brusa, and had, at the change the Turkish emperor made *this year*, 1750, amongst his officers, prevailed so far as to be appointed musselim of Magnesia, where he put his son in his room, and sent his son-in-law, who had hitherto been in Magnesia, to Smyrna. Himself lived in Kyragatch, a village two days journey from Magnesia, where are the richest and finest cotton plantations in Natolia. He could immediately raise twenty thousand men, which were under his command; and it was rumoured that his revenue was twelve thousand piastres a day." \*

This must be the person described by Dr. Chandler, when he was at Guzel-hissar, as the "Basha, an important officer with eight agas, each with a retinue of one hundred men in the town, awaiting his commands. We had a re-

commendatory letter to his mohardar, or treasurer, which was delivered, with the present of a handsome snuff-box, and graciously received (by the treasurer.) He promised to mention us to the basha, but his engagements were many, &c. The basha was then at enmity, and after at open war, with some leading men in that part of the country.” \*

4. It must be this person of whom Mr. Dallaway gives so high a character for good government; because he mentions his payment of a large fine to the sultan on a *late demise*; by which it would appear that the Cara Osman of Hasselquist was *then* dead, (about 1795,) and succeeded by the person eulogised by Mr. Dallaway. He describes the extent of territory granted to him as a square of two hundred and fifty miles in the heart of Anatolia, with the cities of Pergamus and Magnesia; that he can raise sixty thousand men; and that upon a *late* renewal of the charter or firman, which is required upon each *demise*, three thousand purses, about one

\* Chandler's Travels in Asia Minor.



hundred thousand pounds sterling, were demanded and easily paid." \*

When Mr. Hunter was at Kirgagatch in 1792, he says, that the *father* of the then head of the Cara Osman Oglou family had his property confiscated by the sultan, and, if I do not mistake, put to *death*. That the son, wise from so terrible an example, never would accept the offers of dignities made him by the sultan, and thereby escaped the danger of the father ; and in a note, written evidently some time after the above, it is said that the *son* of the last, (grandson, of course, of the former, the father being *dead*,) made his peace, for the present, with the Porte, by giving an immense sum of money.

If Cara Osman Oglou can claim his descent from a person mentioned in the following extract from the life of Timur Bec, Lord Byron's *high* descent of the family would be established, otherwise it can have no existence.

“ They brought to court the emir Mahomed, son of Caraman, who had for twelve years been kept in chains by Bajacet ; Timur honoured him

\* Dallaway's Constantinople.

with a vest and belt, gave him the government of all the provinces of Caramania, with Iconium, Laranda, Acserai, (Aksher,) Anzarza, Alaya, and their dependencies ; and through the protection of our monarch, all these provinces remained without opposition in the hands of this emir, and after him in his children.” \*

But this is clearly the Seljukian Prince Caraman, and cannot be identified with Cara Osman Oglou.

Before I mention the treatment of the present family by Ibrahim Pasha, and the tragical fate of a venerable old man connected with them, I will revert again to the curious parallel between Ibrahim and Tamerlane.

“ The emperor (Tamerlane) afterwards went in two days (from Sevri-hissar) to Kutaieh, a delightful town, as well for the pureness of the air, and the charming taste of the fruits, as for the beauty of its pleasure houses, and the number of its fountains. As this place exceedingly pleased him, he stayed here a month, and granted quarter to the inhabitants, on paying the accus-

\* History of Timur Bec, page 285.

tomed ransom to his commissaries, who at the same time seized on the goods which Timour Tach had laid up for a long time in this place. He sent the Mirza Charac to Ghulissar, (*Guzel-hissar*,) Estanous, and Keter.

“Timur, highly pleased with the conquest of Natolia, (and the taking the Ottoman emperor prisoner,) resolved to make solemn feasts and rejoicings, to recreate himself after the fatigues of war. The most beautiful ladies of the court were at these diversions, where the best wines of Asia were drunk, and the musicians performed extraordinarily.

“In the mean time, the troops sent out to make inroads, plundered and ravaged all Natolia. The meanest soldier became in a manner a great lord, by the booty he had gained : and he who before had not a single horse, was now master of several stables thronged with them. The whole army returned thanks to their Creator, who had enriched them ! !” \*

*Mutatis mutandis*, what can be a more correct picture of the residence and operations of Ibrahim Pasha while at the same place? But he

\* Hist. of Timur Bec, p. 260.

found it too tempting a spot to quit in so short a time, and instead of a little month, sojourned there for several. He did not, it is true, take the Ottoman emperor prisoner, thanks to his imperial brother, the autocrat of all the Russias, who kindly stepped in, when the English and French had too much delicacy to interfere ; but certainly it was not without the best intentions and longings on the part of Ibrahim to try the air of the Bosphorus and the charms of the seraglio.

The writer regrets much that he was deprived by indisposition of an opportunity to judge by personal observation of the accuracy of this parallel in other particulars. Mr. Cohen, a near connexion of Baron Rothschild, very kindly invited him to pay a visit to the camp of Kutaieh ; and as Mr. Cohen was personally known to the pasha, having accompanied the army on their march from Syria, there was no doubt of our being well received ; with the additional but extraordinary advantage, that Mr. Cohen was furnished with a teskeray or travelling firman from Ibrahim, which procured him horses and every other attention all along the road free of expense, when

the sultan's firman, in his own territories, would only have exposed the bearer to the most imminent peril.

Kutaieh was then for a long time the headquarters of both Tamerlane and Ibrahim Pasha. It was here the latter erected the tribunal for reforming the abuses of the sultan's government and governors. It was from hence that he sent his detachments and issued his mandates for the occupation of Guzel-hissar, Magnesia, and even Smyrna. The sultan's officers were displaced, and his own appointed in their room.

At Smyrna, the Egyptian rule was of very short duration, as the moment the news reached Constantinople, orders were sent to strike all the consular flags ; a measure immediately followed by the restoration of the former governor, and the flight of the other to the camp of Kutaieh.

Cara Osman Oglou, though obliged to fly from his government of Guzel-hissar, was fortunate to escape with his life, though he suffered severely in his estates from the excessive exactions of Ibrahim. His uncle, the musselim of Magnesia, and his venerable preceptor the aga of Cassaba, were not so fortunate, both being thrown into

prison, and charged with being accessory to the deposition of Ibrahim's governor at Smyrna.

A large of money was fixed by Ibrahim as the penalty for their offence, and to the aga of Cassaba, as a commutation of the sentence of death. It was in vain for the unfortunate man to protest either his innocence or his inability to raise the required sum. He engaged to pay it, on the solemn assurance that his life would be spared.

The time allowed for raising it was so short, that it seemed almost impossible—yet so great was the interest which his hard case excited, that the whole sum was promptly procured, a merchant of Smyrna, known to the writer, furnishing a proportion of it amounting to forty thousand piastres. The money was ready, and paid before the time stipulated—the bags were unsealed—the mahmoudies and dollars counted—declared to be right in amount,—a receipt given,—and instantly after the body of the venerable old man, strangled by the governor of Magnesia, was thrown out into the streets of Cassaba.

It is true, that Ibrahim disavowed the murder, but it is absurd to suppose that his tool, the go-

vernor of Magnesia, would have taken the responsibility upon himself.

The following extract from Mr. Cohen's letter to me, after his arrival at the camp of Ibrahim Pasha at Kutaieh, confirms the melancholy and almost incredible story.

“At Cassaba, I in vain looked around the room for the old musselim, (aga,) whom I had seen and conversed with during my previous visit; but it appeared to me the house was in sackcloth and ashes,—another had usurped the place, and the lips and hands of him of Magnesia told the awful tale; the venerable beard whitened by eighty winters, with its surrounding features, had been most cruelly separated from the body and forwarded to Kutaieh;—Ibrahim, affected at this occurrence, would have made a prompt retaliation, and was only appeased by the intervention of his advisers.”

## CHAPTER X.

Leave Guzel-hissar—Buffaloes of Mercury—Arabah disabled—Ride to Balichek-café—Ruins of Magnesia on the Meander—Alarm for Mr. Dethier—The Cenchrius and Ortygia—Arrive at Aiasoluk—Visit in 1824—Honesty of a Greek Shepherd—Death of a Surigee—Generosity of a Turk—Church of St. John, and the Motropolitan Church—Ancient Painting—Prison of St. Paul—Sculptures on the Gate of Persecution—The Amphisbæna—Arrow of Tamerlane.

*Thursday, Nov. 28.*—Though better, it was more prudent not to attempt so soon to remount my horse, and we therefore endeavoured to prevail upon our simple and careful arabahji to take me as far as Balichek-café; but he could not be prevailed upon, alleging, and probably with truth, the inability of his buffaloes. Kyriacos found another arabahji, and the contract was definitely made for thirty piastres, paid in advance.

It was half-past eleven, when we left Guzel-hissar, the “castle of beauty,” taking an ample



stock of provisions, and not forgetting *chalva*,\* for which the place is *renommé* and near, to present to our Smyrna friends. Some capital wine was also purchased, but Milcom having slung the earthen vase by the ear, at his saddle-bow, like the bottles of John Gilpin, it underwent the same fate, and from the same cause, a restive horse; the horse of backward step celebrity, which since the adventure of Kyriacos had been transferred to its owner.

My voiture, guarded by Suleiman, was much in advance of the party. The country about Guzel-hissar bore yet the appearance of summer; the trees still in leaf. The same belt of sand-hills all along in front of the mountain of Mesogis. At a quarter past twelve was a café, fountain, and place for prayer; a few minutes after, another café and a watercourse. The hills, now close to the sand-hills, were coloured *red as blood*. At one o'clock a beautiful grove of olives lay on the right; and in another half-hour was

\* The ordinary chalva is made with honey, sesame oil, and fine flower; the Guzel-hissar chalva differs considerably, and seems rather to resemble the sweetmeat called *mustalevria*; and rancid butter used in its composition did not, to my taste, make it more delicate.

another café shed—near which we passed the now dry bed of the Aches-derè-chay.\* About this time our friends joined us.

My buffaloes seemed to have made better speed than their brethren of Denizli; whether this was owing to a mark they were honoured with, each on the rump, I venture not to decide; but certain it is, that this mark was the exact fac-simile of the planetary sign of *Mercury*, 8; and in this classical region, I fancied they might have descended from the herds stolen by the light-footed and light fingered god from poor Battus.

But perhaps the different form of the wheels might have accelerated our movement; instead of a heavy mass of wood, cut in a circular form, and about one foot and half diameter, the arabah wheels of Guzel-hissar were, though also of solid wood, at least five feet high, and of very slender proportions. Certainly, my coachman was not half so intelligent or active as the arabahji of Denizli; for if questioned about direction of road, or distance, he would turn his head round provokingly on the opposite side, and

\* Perhaps this is the same name as the river between Tshal-tighi and Bourdour.

talk of his arabah or his buffaloes, and instead of walking carefully by the side, and sometimes, like another Hercules, putting his shoulder to the carriage to help it over a threatening rut, as his predecessor would often do, he seated himself in a good half of the carriage, and as constantly made a resting stool of my legs for his own, as large as his buffaloes', till a sharp kick was the only intelligible language to tell him to take them out of the way.

At a quarter before two the village of Yarinkeuy lay at the right, and about two, the village of Karabonar. At twenty minutes before three the village of Ishaklee; and at twenty minutes after three the village of Tacklare. Looking back towards Guzel-hissar, a magnificent rainbow rested on a cloud as black as night, and the rain was falling in deluges. We, on the contrary, were riding, nearly choaked in clouds of dust, and as the wind was blowing against us, we rode on in perfect ease from all apprehensions of a wet coat.

It was near four o'clock when we arrived at the village of Bocklee or Bouklough, and having rested at the cafinet till half-past four, we pre-

pared to continue our route. I was unwilling to go on at this late hour, for the *cafigi* assured us that we had yet three hours to our *conac*; and from my knowledge of the country, I was convinced he was right; but Milcom, with his usual pertinacity and ignorance, insisted he had been on this road; that it was not two hours to Balichek-café, and that the road was an excellent one, *ισος* and *uni*, straight as a line, and smooth as a looking-glass.

We set out; took wrong turnings at every quarter of an hour, upon the principle of taking a shorter cut, notwithstanding we had a *caterdji* with us for our conducteur. This man was the proprietor of a string of mules, and was returning with them from Guzel-hissar, unloaded. I was shaken horribly, and anticipated the moment as not far distant, when by the overthrow of my carriage I should be thrown into a ditch.

We, however, went on, though the peril increased every moment; at last Mr. Dethier being fortunately behind, observed that one of the wheels suddenly flew off, and I escaped an overthrow only by miracle. The wheel was not

broken, (how could it be, a solid block of wood?) but the iron pin was gone, and could not be replaced. We searched long and fruitlessly; the light-fingered god might have taken it; if our good arabahji himself, having been paid in advance, and not liking a longer journey, or a lodging at Balichek-café, had not, as is most probable, secreted it himself.

Milcom was scolded soundly, as he deserved; and after long debate, it was decided that it would be better to proceed at all risks than spend the night where we were. The alternative for me was to walk to the café, or mount my horse; I preferred the latter, and with little compunction of conscience, in abandoning the arabahji, who, if he had not really got the missing iron, would be compelled to stay where he was till daylight, we set out once more.

It was not absolutely dark, for the moon, though clouded, gave a faint light. We travelled on, when, though the *caterdji* was at our head, Milcom and Suleiman (not the *wise*) again contrived to lead us out of the road, and what was worse, to lose our conducteur. We were led à

*travers*, through brier and thicket, to regain the *caterdji*, but though we heard his voice at intervals, responding to the tinkling of the mule's bells, we wandered on in uncertainty, till our actual arrival at the Balichek-café, at half-past eight o'clock.

The miserable hut was hailed as a palace, though we had to sleep with about a dozen other companions. Our host was a curious figure; and his habiliments were so cut and adjusted, that he reminded me forcibly of the wasp-like gentlemen in the days of Elizabeth and James the First. One of our bed-fellows, a Samiote Greek, going to Guzel-hissar on affairs of commerce, nearly stifled us with his tobacco fumes as we lay in our beds, and disturbed our rest half the night with his loquacity in his dreams. Friend Kyriacos, who was in more intimate proximity to him than ourselves, carried some part of his wares to Smyrna, not a very saleable article.

The Balichek-café is at a short distance only from the ruins of the Ionian Magnesia, called, to distinguish it from the Lydian, by the name of Magnesia ad Meandrum. The site is at present known by the name of Inekbazar, "the cow or

cattle" bazar, though ridiculously enough translated by Van Egmont, the "needle" bazar. \*

\* Strabo describes Magnesia as situated in a plain at the foot of a mountain called Thorax, not far from the Meander, but nearer the Lethæus, a stream flowing from Pactyas, a mountain of the Ephesii. This description agrees precisely with Inek-bazar, in face of which are two insulated hills, which, when all the plain of the Meander below Inek-bazar was sea, were two islands, called Derasidæ and Sophonia. Besides the town-walls, theatre, stadium, (which adjoins the theatre,) and other indications of the site of a great city, are the vast prostrate fragments of an octastyle Ionic temple, the peristyle of which was nearly two hundred feet in length, and was formed in columns, more than four feet and a half in diameter. It agrees perfectly with the description given of the temple of Diana, at Magnesia, by Vitruvius and Strabo: the former of whom informs us, that this building was a pseudo-dipterous octastyle of the Ionic order; and the latter, that it was larger than any temple in Asia, except those of Diana Ephesia and Apollo Didymeus, and that it surpassed even the Ephesian temple in harmony, and in the construction of the cell. Among the ruins are seen inscribed pedestals, which formerly supported statues of Nerva and Marcus Aurelius; one of these is dedicated by a high priest and scribe of the Magnesites; and on another fragment were found the names of some priestesses of Artemis Leucophryne."—*Colonel Leake's Journal*, page 243.

William Hamilton, Esq., late ambassador at the court<sup>t</sup> of Naples, to whom I am indebted for the kind notice first taken of this journey in the *Athenæum* of Nov. 20, 1833, and for many other obliging attentions, was the first who determined the site and explored the ruins of this city. When I

*Friday, Nov. 29.*—Mr. Dethier gave a strong proof of self-denial this morning. Our *cafidji* assured us that the Francolins, so talked of and longed after by the chasseurs and gourmands of Smyrna, were as numerous about his café, as Lucas's Tadornes on the lake of Bourdour, though not, like them, to be knocked down with a stick. Mr. D. resisted the temptation, and we mounted our horses at eight o'clock.

The river Lethæus, along which the road passes, and which from its thousand cascades, was so was there, in 1826, I saw, besides the temple, a theatre, and probably a gymnasium.

Strabo says it was formerly a colony of Magnesia, from near Dotium, in Thessaly, and was sufficiently powerful to contend even with the neighbouring city of Ephesus. Dr. Cramer observes that Leucophrys is mentioned by Xenophon as a spot distinct from Magnesia, which he does not name at all; at the same time, there can be no doubt that it is the site which Strabo alludes to, for he says there is there a temple of Diana, much venerated, and a lake more than one stadium in circuit, with a sandy bottom, and producing a never failing supply of water, fit for drinking, and warm. The Poet Nicander, speaking of the roses which bloomed at Leucophrys, evidently connects it with Magnesia; for he mentions the Lethæus by the designation of the Magnesian Lethæus. It is placed by the Notitiæ among the dioceses of Ionia, and appears to have been once called Meandropolis — *Dr. Cramer's Asia Minor*, vol. i. p. 461.



enchanted on my first journey, had now little or no water. The scenery, however, was as beautiful as ever, and passing through it we arrived at the Debrent café at half-past nine. Mr. Dethier had gone on in advance and was out of sight; I was disposed to follow him without losing time by stopping at this café; but Milcom, for reasons which I could not well comprehend, said it was indispensable to stop here, because every body stopped here, and take a cup of coffee; or in other words, as it was a guard-house, to pay something to the guardians of the road.

We had not quitted the café long, when having stopped to arrange my broken stirrup-leathers, we heard the report of two pistols, and shortly after a third. The sound came from the direction in which Mr. Dethier had advanced, and concluding they were fired by him or at him, we determined to put on a brave and respectable appearance in case of any untoward rencontre with Samiotes, or other brigands, who frequently honour this neighbourhood with their visits.

I took my double-barrelled gun, and Kyriacos placed his hand upon his sabre, and we quickened our pace, dispatching Milcom at full

speed, as an avant courier. Previously to approaching the aqueduct, all attempts at feats of horsemanship were useless, as we could only walk down the long and rocky hill. We found Mr. Dethier alive and well, who had neither fired nor been fired at, but seated quietly and sketching the aqueduct.

By-the-bye, this interesting ruin, though correctly drawn in the *Voyage Pittoresque* of Monsieur Choiseul Gouffier, is not in an open country as his artist has placed it, but in a very narrow road, with high mountains close on both sides. This aqueduct does not seem to have conducted water to Mount Prion or Coresus, that is, to the supposed site of the ancient city of Ephesus, but in the direction of the modern aqueduct, which supplied the citadel and town of Aiasaluk; a proof, if I am right in my conjecture, that Aiasaluk formed part of the ancient city.

The descent was so long, that we had ample leisure to examine the beauty and variety of the trees; and in this valley and on the road from Balichék café, we saw pines, olives, arbutus of both kinds, unedo and andrachne, ilex, agnus

castus, planes, rhodo daphne, arbor judæ, valonea, and when nearer Ephesus, at the bottom of this hill, groves of myrtle. The heath was also abundant and of two varieties, and for the first and only time since my residence in Asia Minor, I noticed the common fern.

Near the aqueduct on the mountain side at the right, is a large square opening, at a distance resembling a large tomb, but on approaching nearer, proves to be a quarry of marble. We came to the last café near twelve o'clock, and then entered the plain of Ephesus, the *river* running deep and wide on the right. This is probably the Cenchrius, named by ancient authors, and seen on the medals of Ephesus; and if so, the myrtle groves will be near Ortygia, and the mountain with the quarry near the aqueduct, Solmissus.

Chandler supposed Ortygia was at the village of Arvisia on the road from Ephesus to Scala Nova, but confessed though he sought for it he could find nothing to support the conjecture. I have passed that way several times, and the last time examined it with much attention. There is no *river*, and certainly no cypresses at present.

Ortygia will therefore be either in the valley we descended, or in that of Kirkingè, and one of those rivers the Cenchrius. The tradition was, that Latona had been delivered of Diana in Ortygia, a beautiful grove of trees of various kinds, chiefly cypresses, near Ephesus, on the coast, a little up from the sea. This place was filled with shrines and images. A panegyris, or general assembly, was held there yearly; and splendid entertainments were held, and mystic sacrifices solemnized. The Cenchrius, probably a crooked river, ran through it; and above it was the mountain Solmissus, on which, it was fabled, the Curetes stood and rattled on their shields, to divert the attention of Juno.

Crossing the river which I have supposed the Cenchrius, we rode by the head of the plain, opposite the gymnasium, (if such it be,) and soon after crossed another wide and dry bed of a stream coming down also from the mountain. It was twenty minutes before one when we arrived at Aiasaluk; we lunched and remained there till half-past one. We observed on entering the plain soon after twelve, the remains of a considerable building on the left, which I had not remarked

before ; but as it is built of small stones, it is probably of Turkish times. Adjoining the gymnasium, is a long platform or terrace, under the mountain side, extending towards the east, the site evidently of buildings.

Travellers who may henceforward be disposed to visit this most interesting place,—and who is there, that arriving at Smyrna, would quit it again without a ride to Ephesus?—will find a very good café, and a cafidji most orientally polite. As a proof of it, when once here, in May 1832, with some young friends, we had scarcely spread our beds around the elevated platforms, when the cafidji took up his lyre and began to lull us to sleep, with its melody. It might have had its intended effect, if some hours after he had not, on resuming it, been joined vocally by a Turk, freshly arrived, and in a deplorable state of inebriation.

This gentleman thought proper to give us a song, and in so loud a strain, as to wake in an instant all that were asleep, and to chase sleep from such as had been hitherto sleepless. It was in vain, that we made gentle remonstrances, and at length used stronger language ; the fel-

low defied the whole of us, and gave us the unceasing powers of his lungs, till at length losing all patience, we threatened the cafidji to complain of him to the Elez aga, and what perhaps he feared most, not to give him a para. The cafidji laid aside his lyre, and affectionately assured us, "he would cut off the nose of a fly who should dare to disturb our repose."

In 1824, I had the honour of accompanying the present Earl of Ashburnham, (then Viscount St. Asaph,) to Ephesus. Our fellow traveller was Mr. Steuart, a young officer, belonging to the Hind sloop of war, but long ere this, I hope, bearing the actual rank of "capitano," at that time respectfully applied to him, by our travelling attendants.

On arriving at Aiasaluk, with every appearance that the night, which had already set in, would be a night of deluges, we found the place altogether deserted; chiefly occasioned by the constant descents of the Samiotes, who plundered and murdered every Turk that fell in their way. The cafinet had been described to us as shut up; but this could not be correctly said, inasmuch as doors and shutters had fallen to the ground,

the roof was in part open to the heavens, and a plentiful crop of grass was springing up from the earthen floor.

Wretched as it was, there seemed no alternative, and we had almost commenced our preparations for taking possession, when an old Greek showed us a Turk's house on the side of the castle hill. Bad as it was, it was better than the *cafinet*, and as the master was from home, we took the liberty to establish ourselves within it. A good wood fire and a very tolerable dinner reconciled us to our destiny ; we were indebted for most of our comforts to a worthy old Arab, whose good-natured physiognomy was most prepossessing.

The rain fell in torrents all night, and almost as plentifully through the mud roof upon us and our bedding. This was not wonderful, as the roof was composed simply of a layer of reeds, covered with a bed of earth, from which had grown, as in the *cafinet*, a good crop of grass. The rain was so unceasing, accompanied by the tremendous thunder so peculiar to Ephesus, that we were unable to proceed on our journey till several days after, and then the whole coun-

try in every direction was covered deeply with water.

On the third day after our arrival, the provisions being nearly exhausted, a negotiation was entered into with an old Greek shepherd for the purchase of a lamb, as delicious in Turkey as the mutton is coarse ; the man demanded at first six or seven piastres, considerably beyond the actual value of the best in his flock, but selected an old meagre ewe sheep. We were not to be so easily imposed upon, and selected for ourselves ; the fellow raised his price to ten piastres.

In the almost starving state of our larder, there was no alternative, and even this was acceded to. What will the admirer of "the noble minded Greeks," say, when the conclusion is added? The shepherd took the sheep on his shoulders, carried it off to the flock, and gave his ultimatum in fifteen piastres. This was impudence beyond endurance, and the old scoundrel was caught in his own trap, for we preferred even the chance of starvation to such abominable imposition.

The state of the roads and the deluges of rain



making our return to Smyrna impracticable within the time originally proposed, one of the surigees was dispatched to Smyrna with letters, and for his lordship's firman, and he was directed on his return to meet us at the khan in Tyria. Poor fellow, little did any of us anticipate that he was never to see us again! He arrived at Smyrna, delivered his letters and received the answers, and went to bed in one of the post-houses. A violent storm arose in the night, threw down the post-house, and the poor man was buried in the ruins!

We had now been some days in quiet possession of our habitation, however questionable the right might have been by which we obtained it, and I fear we carried the right of ownership so far as not to be very scrupulous, when other fuel grew scarce, in stripping off a few rafters from the adjoining apartment.

We certainly did not much calculate upon the real owner's return, when he suddenly alighted at the door, and was no doubt surprised to find such a party of self-invited accommodating guests.

He had, however, no sooner made his "salam," and with the best-humoured face in the world

said “ *Hosh gelde*, you are welcome,” than, dripping as he was, he mounted his steed once more, and in no long time returned with the most acceptable present of a fine lamb, yaourt, &c.

The kind-hearted man had learnt from our servants, no doubt, that we were rather short of provisions, and very probably too, he had heard the story of the honest Greek shepherd ; but what was more extraordinary still, it was with difficulty we prevailed upon him, when we left his house, to accept a small remuneration. And this man was an infidel, and the Greek shepherd a Christian !

I mention this as a tribute of respect due to the memory of this worthy man. In May 1832, I went up to the well-remembered house to inquire for him ; an old woman was seated pensively before the door, and I soon learnt that the poor man had died of the cholera in the preceding autumn. The old woman was his mother-in-law, and leaving a trifle for her daughter and three infant children, I came away deeply affected.

For a description at length of the antiquities of Ephesus, I take the liberty of referring the reader to the “ Visit to the Seven Churches.” But since its publication I have collected a great

deal more information, among which are the following miscellaneous notices.

Aiasaluk is usually considered to be a corruption of Agios Theologos, the name given by the Greek Church to the beloved disciple; but surely this is most absurd. It is almost impossible to torture the words into another so unlike; and if it were not, it is most improbable that the Greeks should have relinquished voluntarily the ancient name of Ephesus, of which they are so jealous, that the Greeks of the neighbourhood designate themselves exclusively by the name of Ephesians. I think Aiasaluk, or, as the historian of Tamerlane writes it, Ajaslik, altogether a Turkish name, and very probably preserving in the word "little moon," or crescent, an allusion to the worship of the Ephesian Diana, as well as the talisman of the Turks.

It has been doubted if the church of St. John really stood on the site of the present mosque. I think there is abundance of evidence to prove that it stood near it. Procopius says, that the church, as rebuilt by the emperor Justinian, was on an elevated hill, unfit for, and incapable of cultivation from being so rocky. The rock of Aiasaluk surely cannot be better described, and

if the church did not stand there, it must have been on the top of Mount Prion; but the description can never apply to that mount, which was celebrated for its fertility.

I think it more probable that it stood at Aiasaluk, and perhaps the gate called the Gate of Persecution, and the large masses of brick walls beyond it, are parts of this celebrated church, which was clearly in a commanding situation, as it was *fortified* during the great council of Ephesus. The earlier church was a very small one, but was rebuilt by Justinian on the same site, and was so magnificent as to equal the church of the Apostles at Constantinople.

In the Greek Synaxaria, page 21, the church of John the Theologist is said to be built on a hill in *old* Ephesus, which was called *Ηλιβατον*. To the *west* of this hill was the tomb of the holy apostle Timothy. The tomb of Mary Magdalene and the seven *paidia*, (*boys*, as the Synaxaria calls the seven sleepers,) are to be found on an *adjoining* hill, which is called *Χειλετων*, or *Χειλειων*—a name clearly designating the clefts or quarries of Mount Prion.

The tomb of St. John was in or under his

church, and the Greeks have a tradition of a sacred dust arising every year, on his festival, from the tomb, possessed of miraculous virtues, and which they call *manna*.

There is positive evidence that the church stood either at or near the great mosque, for I saw several very large Corinthian capitals, one within the court of the mosque, and others on the hill just behind it, having a cross in high relief upon them, evidently from the church of Justinian.

A French traveller, De Loir, about one hundred and fifty years ago, saw tombs in or near the mosque with *crosses* upon them.

The front of the mosque is evidently faced with the same brilliant white marble which made the temple of Diana shine like a meteor at the head of the port. The mosque has precisely the same striking effect at present, and no doubt the church of Justinian was constructed with the spoils of the temple ; the rich columns within the mosque are undoubted evidence of it.

The mass of ruins usually supposed to be the remains of the celebrated temple, I should rather take for those of another church ; perhaps the metropo-

litan church, which was different from that of St. John ; and I am led to this conjecture from the *brick* work above the stone piers, precisely resembling what may be seen in the ruins of the primitive churches at Sardis, Philadelphia, and Pergamus.

At the back of the mosque on the hill is the sunk ground-plan of a small church, still much venerated by the Greeks ; it is circular at the eastern end, and may be the primitive church, before rebuilt by Justinian. The sites of two others are also shown at Aiasaluk, besides the large church in the plain, near the supposed site of the temple, which has also a circular eastern end.

The last time I visited Ephesus, I examined with more attention the remains of the painting in one of the arched recesses of what is called a gymnasium. Besides the fishes, I thought I could distinguish a man on horseback, and a javelin or spear was very visible. There was a church of St. Luke at Ephesus : may this have any reference to the legend of the fishes ? or, if it be of earlier date, may it commemorate the fishes leaping from the coals, like the fish of

St. Neot from the fryingpan, and the javelin with which the wild hog was killed on the spot where afterwards was erected the Athenæum, or temple of Minerva, and which was without the city? If the latter, this building may have been the Athenæum.

The building, called the prison of St. Paul, is constructed of large stones without cement, and has four chambers; the doorways have a *pointed* arch, which ought to be evidence against remote antiquity, or a proof of the existence of the pointed arch in times long anterior to the Saracenic ages.

The sculptures which adorned the gate called the Gate of the Persecution, were clearly only parts of sarcophagi. The two principal were clandestinely removed several years ago, and after passing to Smyrna, Malta, and, I believe, England, are now in Russia, having been purchased by the present proprietor for a very large sum.

In 1832, I was copying an imperfect inscription below this gate, and accidentally turning over a stone, found a fragment, the entire trunk of one of the figures belonging to the principal

or centre has relief now in Russia, and which, in the fear of discovery, had, I suppose, been unintentionally left behind by the spoliator.

It may be well to apprise future travellers, that I found behind the mosque at Aiasaluk, when turning over other stones, not a scorpion, which Dr. Chandler says were so abundant, but the species of serpent called *amphisbæna*: it was small, ringed, and of a reddish colour. The bite has been reputed dangerous, but I am not sure there is sufficient authority for believing it; the two extremities so exactly resembled each other, that it was not till it was much irritated and opened its mouth, that we could distinguish the head from the tail.

When Tamerlane was at Aiasaluk, he is said to have thrown a dart, or shot an arrow, in the great mosque, which was to be seen even at the present day, sticking nearly in the centre of the dome. I certainly, at my first visit to Ephesus, saw something sticking there, which I could readily believe was an arrow; and when, in 1832, I pointed it out to some young friends, \*

\* Willingly would I have given the whole details of an excursion, certainly among the most agreeable I have ever un-



so perfect was the conviction of the whole party, that most declared, with and without the aid of

dertaken ; but it would be out of place at present : perhaps at some future time I may find an opportunity to do it. I should be ungrateful, however, to my amiable young friends, if I did not mention their names, and take this public mode of assuring them how much I enjoyed the dignity of cicerone.

Our party was numerous, amounting to no less than a dozen, exclusive of attendants. These were Mr. Firman Guys, Mr. Richard Vanlennep, Mr. Firman Cousinery, Mr. Dethier, Mr. Francis Werry, Mr. John and Mr. George Lee, Mr. Richard Keun, Mr. Paul Homero, Mr. Vanzanee, Abraham of Cæsarea, and myself.

Among *our discoveries*, we certainly may place an important one, that of the oracular cave of Apollo at Claros, not as Chandler supposed, among the ruins of Notium, but on the mountain opposite to Giaourkeuy ; and the shouts of the party from the theatre at Ephesus of *Μεγαλη η Αρτεμις των Εφεσιων* —“ Great is Diana of the Ephesians,” were almost as deafening as in the days of Demetrius.

The following note of Mr. Keun is too flattering to my feelings to be withheld ; and it will give my English readers an amiable picture of the young men of Smyrna, that they could enjoy a rational and instructive excursion.

“ Mon cher Monsieur,

“ Vous etes bien bon de donner tant d'attention aux petits services que j'ai été trop heureux de rendre a notre agréable excursion, d'autant plus qu'ils avoient un but purement matériel, mais nous vous devons tous bien des remerciemens et des obligations, pour ceux que vous avez rendus à notre caravane sous le rapport scientifique en voulant bien

telescopes, and mounting to the head of the pulpit stairs, that they could plainly see the barb!

A profane young man, Mr. Richard Vanlenep, let his name descend to posterity with the glory attached to it, put a ball into his gun, and took aim at the mysterious arrow. The thunder of the report was astounding; the venerable fabric shook to its base, and re-echoed again and again like Solmissus at the birth of Diana. The angry spirits of Tamerlane, and the Omars, and the Osmans, seemed to be flitting about in the black dense cloud which for some minutes filled the mosque; and the terror was increased by a heavy clanking of chains.

The aim had been a sure one, and something

nous servir de guide et d'explicateur des edifices, avantage que nous a mis a même de retirer quelque fruit de cette partie, dont le souvenir me sera toujours precieux, et que j'espere voir de renouveler quelque jour aidée de votre experience vers quelqu'autre pointe interessante de l'Asie Mineur. En attendant veuillez bien me croire, Monsieur,

Votre respectueux,

RICHARD J. KEUN.

I dare not add another from Mr. Firman Guys; it would expose me to a well-founded charge of vanity; and yet I will be vain to enjoy the friendship of persons of all communions, Protestant, Catholic and Greek, for of such our party was composed.

fell to the ground with a ponderous weight. The cloud dispersed, and with it the beautiful legend of the dart of Tamerlane; instead of which were seen several links of a chain which had once, perhaps, in the days of Timur Bec, supported an iron lamp.

## CHAPTER XI.

Visit to Kirkingè, near Ephesus, to establish a school—System of Dr. Bell and Mr. Lancaster in use at Athens one hundred and fifty years ago—The Manuscript Gospel at Kirkingè, written by St. John—Anecdote of a Greek Caylor, and a similar Manuscript—Ingratitude of a Greek Schoolmaster—Appeal for the Turks—Bishops of Ephesus—Kesil-hissar, or Castle of Dervishes—Gelat Cafinet, take forcible possession—Olalanissi and Chapwan Oglou—Baggage-searchers—Arrival in Smyrna.

OFTEN as I have visited the ruins of Ephesus, the place has such a witchery for me, that I am always ready to go there, and as reluctant to leave it. This feeling has been excited, latterly at least, by something better than a mere love for antiquities. I have longed to establish a school among the representatives and probable descendants of the ancient Ephesians who live

on the mountain at the head of the plain, about an hour and a half from it.

The reader will excuse me if I leave my friends Dethier and Kyriacos for a short time, and relate a visit which I paid in the earlier part of last year to Kirkingè with this object. My first visit to Kirkingè was in March, 1832, when I was at Ephesus with my excellent friend, the Rev. Mr. Brewer, an American missionary, so well known and so deservedly esteemed for his philanthropy and successful zeal in establishing schools in the Archipelago and in Smyrna.

We arrived at the village of Kirkingè late in the evening, deluged by the heavy rain, and were most hospitably received into the house of a man who had overtaken us on the road, and who, with his brother, keeps a *baccal* or general shop at Aiasaluk.

On the following morning, we visited the church and the two priests, and proposed to assist the villagers in the establishment of a school of *mutuel enseignement*. \* One of them was very

\* I have lately seen an English translation of “*Athènes ancienne et nouvelle*.” The author is the Sieur de la Guillerie, and it was published in 1675. The following is the ac-

grateful for the offer ; but the other seemed to care little about it. There was, he said, a school

count of the school system to which I have before alluded, vol. ii. page 97.

“ Our janissary proposed to us to go and see a Greek of his acquaintance, who was a *didascolos*, or schoolmaster. We desired no better, and were upon thorns till we were with him ; but alas ! how were we disappointed, (who expected nothing but the sublime notions of Plato, Zeno, and Aristotle,) when the janissary told us he was a *mechanic*—how were we surprised to consider a man of that quality should succeed to the place of such excellent persons. We found about thirty young lads sitting upon benches, and their master at the head of them, teaching them to read. He rose up when we came in, and received us very civilly, in which, to give them their due, that nation is not sparing.

“ The janissary desired him to go on with his boys, and give us the liberty of seeing his method, which was pretty, and *much beyond ours* ; the master causing the whole *classis* to read at a time without confusion, every scholar being obliged to attention, and to mind what his next neighbour reads. They had each of them the same authors in their hand ; and, for example, if he had thirty scholars, he chose out some continued discourse, and gave them but thirty words to read ; the first boy reading the first word, the second boy the second word, and so on.

“ If they read roundly and right, he gave them thirty words more ; but if any of the boys were at an imperfect, he was corrected by the next, who was always very exact in observing him, and he his neighbour, till the whole number of words were read ; so that the thirty scholars lying all of them at catch, and

already, and led us to the school-room connected with the church, where ten little children were assembled under the rod of a one-eyed master, who seemed but poorly qualified to teach, and little disposed, if he was able.

Adjourning to a cafinet in the hope of seeing some of the primates, this one-eyed gentleman, to prove his qualifications, gave us a long *paramythia* about the steps of a Turkish mosque, and both he and the priests showed their biblical learning by recounting the pedigrees and longevity of the antediluvian patriarchs with all the precision of the College of Arms.

We left them with the promise that they would

and ready to take advantage of any defect in their neighbour, stimulated by an ambition of being thought the best scholar, every one's lesson was the lesson of all, and happy was he that could say it the best.

“To obviate any of the scholars in eluding that word by preparing himself for any single word, their places were changed, and he who at one reading was in the first place, was removed a good distance in the next. Thus one lesson was enough for a whole form, how numerous soever; and, what was very convenient for the master, the boys were not constrained to come to him one after another, for every one was a master to his neighbour.”—*Account of a late Voyage to Athens, englished in the year 1676.*

call a meeting of the principal villagers, and communicate to us the result. Hearing nothing from them, in the month of May I accompanied the young friends mentioned in the last chapter to Ephesus, and after examining, as usual, all the antiquities, and conjecturing about the site of the renowned temple of Diana, I left my friends at the *cafinet*, and accompanied by Abraham of Cæsarea, the respectable and well-qualified successor of *Œconomos* in the *Ellenic School* at Smyrna, we mounted our asses, for this Ephesian journey was neither on horseback nor in an arabah of buffaloes, but on asses, and set out for Kirkingè.

The road lay through a narrow ravine or valley, with the deep bed of a *river*, probably the *Cenchrius*, all the way on the right, and after some time we saw the small remains of an aqueduct on the left, and not long after a mill on the right. Leaving the valley at a quarter before five, in a quarter of an hour after came to a fountain of fine water, and magnificent plane-trees, and enormous rocky mountains.

We ascended by a succession of *staircases* of rocks, hearing the rush of the river on the left



at an immense depth below. We continued to ascend till we arrived at the summit, almost in the clouds. The village is a considerable one, of at least three hundred houses, all Greek: the principal language of the villagers is Turkish, though they know something of their own tongue.

Arrived at Kirkingè, our first visit was to the church; we found the one-eyed schoolmaster with the ten children about him, and before the door two of the priests. As before, the one was anxious for the school, the other, evidently in the interest of his one-eyed friend, cared nothing at all about it. We inquired for the Gerondes, the heads of the community, and were told, whether true or not, that they were all absent, and we were compelled a second time to leave the place without having accomplished any thing more than specifying the amount and nature of the assistance we were willing to give, and engaging the priest and my hospitable friend Yeorgy to use their influence with the Gerondes, and to write me.

Previously to returning, we were again shown the manuscript mentioned by Chishull above a

century ago, as held in such high veneration. It is a *Lectionary*, with illuminations at the heads of the principal divisions. The priest took it out of its linen cover with much veneration, and offered it to us to kiss, previously to presuming to look into it. He repeated the traditionary tale, that it was written by the hand of St. John himself! but a note in the first leaf was a little at variance with this story, for it stated that it had been brought from Samos or Crete, and a later note mentioned the repairs of the binding in 1787.\*

\* At Smyrna, a similar manuscript is in my possession, with which the following curious circumstances are connected. In the year 1823, at one of the great festivals, I think Easter-day, there was a numerous attendance at the sacramental-table. I was reading the prayer of consecration, and had just pronounced the affecting words, "Do this in remembrance of me," when the chapel-door opened, and a personage walked with a solemn step up the aisle, and seating himself opposite the table, looked me full in the face. Some centuries ago, in England, and a few years ago on the continent, it would not have required much argument to induce a congregation to believe that this personage was really a mysterious character.

His hair, which he had in profusion, fell in curls on each shoulder, and was parted from the forehead to the back of the head. His face was oval and he wore a beard. In fact, all the features of the face and the expression, recalled Him, whom no doubt my readers, from the description, expect to hear mentioned. He was, in fact, so perfect a resemblance of the

We found the Epitropos in the church, who most gratefully offered to promote our wishes about the school.

portraits of our Lord, as they always appear, upon the medals of the Lower Empire, that though we had the evidence of our senses, that he was only a Greek caloyer, many of the congregation I believe, were struck with a feeling in some degree approaching to awe. The long flowing black robe was admirably adapted to increase the illusion.

He continued to the end of the service, and preserved throughout, an expression of seriousness and reverence. When the congregation had left the chapel, he accompanied me to my house, and during his stay in Smyrna frequently called upon me. He was a caloyer, or monk, belonging to some monastery in the interior.

I saw no more of him till the early part of the last year, when he again called upon me, but very much changed, and I should scarcely have recollected him. I observed that his eye was often fixed on a book which lay on the table ; a Greek manuscript of the gospels, precisely the counterpart, in character, to that called by Rev. Hartwell Horne, *The Codex Eberianus*, and of which he gives a fac-simile. It was a manuscript given me by my friend Mr. Borrell, who at the same time sold me another, a Lectionary, precisely like that in the church of Kirkingè.

The caloyer, in relating what had happened to him since I saw him, began thus :—" You may recollect, Kyrie, that when I took my leave of you, you gave me ten piastres. I embarked in a caique for Samos, but landed at Patmos. I had not been there long, when a Palikari offered to sell me an Evangelion, written, not printed, which he had got out of some

We now went to the hospitable mansion of my friend Yeorgy. The whole family knew me from the window, and gave me the warmest welcome. The old mother was, as usual, seated on the ground with her wheel, and with twenty Turkish words, and one Greek, asked me a thousand questions, and gave me a thousand welcomes. Yeorgy's wife was occupied with her child at the breast, but was as warm in her attentions as the old woman ; so were several other women, and all, but one of the children. I bought it with the money you had kindly given me ; and taking it to Samos, sold it to Kyrios Ducas for one hundred piastres ; a sum which kept me and my poor old mother in comfort a long time, till the cruel treatment which afterwards befel me."

He then gave a long account of ill usage, requesting my interference in his behalf. I took the manuscript from the table, and asked him if it was a book of that kind. He looked at it attentively, and almost immediately exclaimed, "It is the very book that I bought with your money, and it has found its way into your hands in return for your charity !"

When the good caloyer quitted me the *first* time, he no doubt thought he had more than overpaid my charity by allowing me to see, (and even pressing me to kiss, which I heretically declined,) the middle finger of the right-hand of St. John the Baptist, most carefully enveloped in three cases of chrystal, silver, and wood.

dren, who ran away and hid himself in affright, seemed rejoiced to see me once more.

Leaving some modern Greek Testaments for the use of the church, and some small books for the use of the ten boys at the school, we quitted Kirkingè, but in doing so, took a road which proved to be a wrong one. We were kindly directed to the right one by numerous villagers whom we met returning from their work in the plain below. Most of these were females, and dressed in the Turkish manner, covering their faces with all the real unaffected feeling of native innocence.

In fact, this little population of probably fifteen hundred persons, interested me more than any Greeks I have ever met with. The men are all armed as the Turks, with pistols and yatagan, a privilege which they have well merited, from having often successfully used them against the Samiote robbers; many of whom have been killed by the men of Kirkingè.

The summer passed away, and I heard nothing about the school; and at our present visit I called on my friends at the Baccal, and found that

Yeorgý was gone on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and would not return till the spring. I sent another message and offer to the Gerondes about establishing a school, but they seemed to be more intent on rebuilding their church.

The time seems fast approaching when the Turks will be disposed to receive assistance in introducing a better system of education; and if funds could be raised, there is every hope that, even in Smyrna, some of the most influential among the Turks would themselves assist in establishing schools. When so much has been done, and is doing every day, for the Greeks, who, it must be owned, are not so grateful as they ought to be, will not my countrymen lend a helping hand to the Turk, who, poor and despised as he may be, is, I will take upon myself to say, quite as deserving, and perhaps more so.

In the month of February, 1833, I determined to make the experiment without waiting longer for a letter from the Gerondes, and therefore sent a young man who had been a schoolmaster at Sedikeuy with a letter for the Bishop of Heliopolis, who resides at Guzel-hissar, requesting him to take the young man under his protection

and to send him to Kirkingè with a letter of commendation to the Gerondes ; for as it was in his diocese, there could be no doubt they would readily comply with his wishes.

*Panyottes*, for that is the schoolmaster's name, was kindly received by the bishop, and after some days, sent on with a very strong letter to Kirkingè, which would infallibly have led to the most satisfactory accomplishment of my wishes ; when the whole again vanished into air, by the ungrateful conduct of the schoolmaster himself.

He went to Kirkingè, looked at it, said it was an *askemos topos*, " a horrible place," and settled himself in Tyria, without deigning to write me a word, though I had once saved his life, and for some time assisted in keeping him and his mother from starving.

The following list of the bishops of Ephesus is so long, that I can only give their names, referring the reader, who may wish for further information, to the *Oriens Christianus*.

- |                            |                        |
|----------------------------|------------------------|
| 1. Timotheus.              | 9. Apollonius.         |
| 2. Joannes I. (the Evange- | 10. Menophanteus, 357. |
| list.)                     | — Evethius, 382.       |
| 3. Onesimus.               | — Antonius, 400.       |
| 8. Polycrates.             | — Heraclides.          |

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| — Castineis.  | 49. — 1066.   |
| — Memnon, 431. (Presided<br>at the General Council<br>of Ephesus. | 50. Michael, 1078.  |
| Basilus.  | 51. Joannes IV. 1143.   |
| 27. Bassianus.  | 52. Nicolaus, 1170.   |
| 28. Stephanus.  | 53. — (Sub Isaacio Angelo<br>Imper.)  |
| 29. John II.  | 54. Nicephorus II.  |
| 30. Paulus, (hæreticus.)  | 55. Isaacius, 1274.   |
| 31. Ætherius.   | 56. Joannes V.  |
| 32. Hypatius I. 531.  | 57. Myron.  |
| 33. Andreas.  | 58. — (Sub Joanne Canta-<br>cuzene Imper.)  |
| 34. Procopius, (hæreticus.)                                       | 59. Matthæus, 1365.   |
| 35. Abramius.   | 60. Joseph, 1416.   |
| 36. Rufinus, 597.   | 61. Joasaph.  |
| 37. Theodorus I.  | 62. Marcus, 1488.   |
| 38. Stephanus II.   | 63. Metrophanes.  |
| 39. Hypatius II.  | 64. —   |
| 40. Theodosius, (hæreticus)<br>754.                               | 65. Daniel.   |
| 41. Joannes III.  | 66. Athanasius, 1575.   |
| 42. Theophilus, 824.  | 67. Sophronius, 1580.   |
| 43. Marcus I. 833.  | 68. Meletius, 1639.   |
| 44. Basilus II.   | 69. Paisius, 1650.  |
| 45. Gregorius.  | 70. Nuper sedit Cyrillus, anno<br>scilicet, 1721. That is,<br>when the Oriens Chris-<br>tianus was published. |
| 46. Cyriacus.   |   |
| 47. Theodorus II.   |   |
| 48. Nicephorus.   |   |

It is time to return to my friends Dethier and Kyriacos. We remounted our horses at half-past one, and on leaving Aiasaluk and winding



round the castle, we crossed another stream, probably that in the valley of Kirkingè, and if so, possibly the Cenchrius. Going a little out of the road on the north side of the castle, we observed what I had not remarked before, a square doorway nearly at the base of the castle ; it did not look like a tomb, and was therefore probably a subterranean entrance into the citadel.

At ten minutes after two, we crossed the bridge of the Cayster ; beyond which, on the left, is a road, leading, I believe, to the ferry. At twenty minutes before three we saw tombs in the mountain rock on the left, and the remains of a wall. We had the first view of the Kezil-hissar Castle at ten minutes after three. This building, perched on the summit of a very lofty precipitous mountain, is called by various names ; the Castle of Dervishes, the Castle of the Goats, and the Castle of Soley Bey, the celebrated rebel who had another castle of Khonas, (Colossæ,) and who, in 1736, besieged and distressed the city of Smyrna.

Why this is called the *Castle of the Goats* it is difficult to say ; unless from the situation, approachable only by these animals. It is evidently

a building of ancient date, and constructed with large stones, though it was too dark to distinguish them with the telescope. It has been conjectured, and with much probability, to have been one of the Persian watch-towers. The Turks, who never mention the Persians but by the name of *Kezil-bash*, or red-head, may perhaps have preserved the tradition in the name of *Kezil-hissar*; and if this be admitted as probable, may not the two towns of *Guzel-hissar* be a corruption of the same, instead of the “Castles of Beauty,”

Previously to approaching this castle the mountain rocks on the left are of stupendous perpendicular elevation, and shaped as if cut by art—one part resembled the circular end of a building. Some tombs are also to be seen here, high on the mountain-side.

I was now so much fatigued, that I would gladly have remained for the night at the village of *Cosebonar*, if my anxiety to reach *Smyrna* to-morrow had not overruled every other consideration. We accordingly went on, passing the small deserted café hut of *Cosebonar*, about four o'clock, and at five arrived at the *Gelat* cafinet,

which to our dismay was shut, and the master not at home. The name is not an inviting one for a traveller's halt, for Gelat means "*Cut-throat*," and so named from the banditti that formerly infested this gorge.

We ventured, with some difficulty, to storm the castle, for such was its form ; took forcible possession, and made our preparations for the night ; much to the displeasure of Milcom, who, whether because the name of the hotel did not please him, or whether he really felt for the poor horses who had no place of shelter, and, what was worse, no barley to eat, raved very much, and would fain have led us on to the Arab café, which, though at least two hours, he declared to be but a step.

I was too much fatigued to assist Mr. Dethier and Kyriacos in the duties of lighting the fire, and making the cuisine ; but we had an excellent roast, and retired to our beds with quiet consciences, notwithstanding the anticipated rencontre with the master of the mansion to-morrow.

The café was really a chateau-like edifice ; the material, as usual, of sun-dried bricks, but such

were employed also in the proud palaces of Babylon; at two of the corners of the twelve feet square apartment, was a round tower; in one of these was a ladder, by which it appears the Castellan, like the renowned Robinson Crusoe, having barricadoed his door and windows within, ascended to the flat roof, and let himself down by the wall. There were narrow loop-holes also in the side walls, for the purpose of reconnoitring and attacking from within, a besieging enemy.\*

*Saturday, December 1.*—We rose at an early hour, and the master of the mansion was not yet arrived. The keen eyes of Kyriacos discovered a hen's nest in one of the towers, and we had less scruple in appropriating the contents, because our rest had been most unconscientiously disturbed half the night, by an enormous cock, who, perched on one of the bars of the ladder, tried,

\* What would the mild laws of England adjudge to the man, who finding, after sunset, a house, securely fastened by its proprietor, absent on business, should dare to break it open, and even to appropriate some of the inviting articles that were within it?

by straining his notes to the highest pitch, to give his master notice that his citadel was taken.\*

We re-barricadoed the door,—fastened the window,—leaving the place precisely, to exterior appearance, as we had found it, and mounted our horses at eight o'clock ; anticipating the astonishment of the Castelan to find proofs, on opening his door, that his castle had been surprised ; though he would be quickly reconciled by the sight of increased treasures in his money-box.

As from the extraordinary dry season, there was neither *marais* nor lake, where usually there

\* It has been often remarked, in illustration of Scripture, that in the eastern countries the cocks crow in the night ; but the regularity with which they keep what may be called the watches, has not been perhaps sufficiently noticed. I will, however, confine myself to one, and that is between eleven and twelve o'clock. I have often heard the cocks of Smyrna crowing in full chorus at that time, and with scarcely the variation of a minute. The *second* cock crowing is between one and two o'clock ; therefore when our Lord says, “ In this night before the cock crow *twice*,” (Mark xvi. 30,) the allusion was clearly to these seasons. In fact, this was altogether so novel to me at my first arrival in Smyrna, that I could calculate the hours of the night with as much precision, by what I termed my *actrometer* as by my watch.

is both, and where, ten years ago, when accompanying the king of the Turcomans and Mr. Brant the present consul at Trebizond, we saw numerous wolves and wild boars, instead of taking the road along the mountain-side, we took the direct one across the plain, and at nine o'clock came abreast of the village of Yenikeuy, lying in at a little distance on the left, and at ten minutes before ten Frigatta lay on the right, and at ten o'clock we came to the Arab café.

This was the place Milcom felt such a desire to proceed to last night, to provender his horses. The poor animals, who were still fasting, were doomed to keep a longer carême, for nothing was to be had at the Arab café. I decided to go on to Olalanissi, but Milcom preferred to go to Trianda, considerably to the right of the direct road.

I reminded him of a similar wish when, on our first journey with Mr. Hartley, we had been compelled to remain two hours in the village of Olalanissi in a deluge of rain. He denied that he had ever been there, and when unintentionally told that his statement was *ψευματα*, "*lies*," instead of *λαθος* "*mistake*"—he was tremendous-

ly indignant. However, we took the road to Olalanissi, passing at half-past ten the tumulus, and soon after the ruins of the aqueduct. Having entered on the plain, we crossed the two streams at half-past eleven, and arrived at Olalanissi about half-past twelve.

When I first passed through this village soon after the commencement of the Greek revolution, it had just been burnt to the ground; and the reddened and blackened mud walls formed a striking contrast with a smart *chifflik*, building by a young Turk, to whom a large part of the adjoining country belongs; and if Milcom had continued to assert that he was here for the first time, I should have excused him, for I scarcely recollected the place myself. But he was candid enough to avow his error, and to ask forgiveness.

Neither barley nor straw could be had here; the poor horses seemed doomed to go on to Sedikeuy or to Smyrna, without food. We stated their wants to the young Turk, and he not only ordered corn for our horses, but showed us all the hospitality which his means in an empty house afforded him. We cooked our own meat on his tripod, and seeing our Guzel-hissar bread, which

we thought excellent, in comparison of much that we had eaten, he threw away the loaf and ordered a splendid one instead of it from his own store.

His name was Khan Chapan Oglou Hussein Bey. He was about twenty, having lost father and mother in his infancy—of extremely modest, gentlemanly manners. After the family of Kara Osman Oglou, that of Chapan Oglou, who is also a *Derè* Bey, is the most powerful, their territory extending northward of Bithynia, to the shores of the Black Sea. According to Dallaway, these are the only two families who are feudal tenants by hereditary succession.\*

It was two o'clock when we left Olalanissi. Mr. Dethier, followed by Kyriacos, taking the road to the left, were soon so far in advance, that we were unable to make them understand that they were not in the right road. We went

\* There are in fact, (or were,) four *Derè* Beys.

1. Chapwan Oglou. It is not certain that our young friend of Olalanissi really belongs to this family.

2. Cara Osman Oglou.

3. The *Derè* Bey of Simav.

4. Elez Aga, who possesses a very large property, including the ancient sites of Colophon, Ephesus, &c.



on, Milcom, Suleiman, and myself, in the straight line for Smyrna, and at three o'clock came to the houses and ruined café of Chaideri Cavessi. Thence the road was direct to Coosamere Café, which we passed at twenty minutes after four. As it was now getting dark, we had some difficulty in getting into the right road, leading from Sedikeuy to Smyrna ; the point of junction of the two roads is at the commencement of the first field nearest the café of the Pine.

Extremely fatigued, and as extremely cold, every moment was tedious till we arrived at the guard-house or custom-house ; here we were unexpectedly detained by two of the searchers, who began to unload our baggage-horse, and to take the things out of the bags. For similar conduct more than once before, I was compelled to make a complaint to the governor of Smyrna, who, without further inquiry, ordered that useful, bustling, and bulky police officer, Hadji Bey, to throw the whole of the persons complained against into prison ; I remonstrated, and prevented the punishment ; but in the present instance, though reminded of their ingratitude,

they seemed determined to proceed with their search, and keep me shivering with cold, till their chief, from his window, ordered them to let us pass.

I hastened through the town, full of anxiety and apprehension of I know not what ; and when near my own door, hardly dared to see if it was open or shut. What might not have happened during six weeks absence in this *land of contingencies* ! The door was open—a good omen. I ventured to look towards the windows—a light was in the drawing-room. Surely then, thought I, my dear wife is there, and well. The sound of the piano-forte assured me of the fact ; and instantly after, I was better assured by finding her, thank God, well,—and relieved now from long disquietude, happy. Mr. Dethier, though he had missed the right road, contrived to take a shorter cut, which palank and papolomas could with difficulty follow, and arriving before me, he had prepared her for receiving me.



## APPENDIX.



## APPENDIX.

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*Journal—From Smyrna to Pergamus and Aivali  
by land ; and thence by sea to Mitylene and  
Smyrna.*

It was my intention to have given, in the remaining pages of this volume, a journal of a short tour, taken some years since, in the vale of the Cayster, and which, besides a full account of the different sources of that celebrated river, would have contained the discovery and description of the ruins of the town of Hypæpa near Demish,—the probable site of the Asian meadow, &c. and being in the month of May, when the whole vale was covered with the most luxuriant crops of wheat, barley, rice and every species of grain, some account would have been given of the mode of

cultivation, especially the busy scenes of preparing the ground for the cotton plants.

But though this might not have been without some interest, especially to the antiquary and classical reader, the following journey has been substituted, as perhaps possessing more general interest, in having for its principal object the lending a helping hand towards the wonder working system of modern education, while at the same time it will be some evidence that the writer, in his journeyings, is not actuated simply by a blind love of antiquarian researches, but can connect with it the more legitimate objects of his professional character.

To those who are acquainted with the state of Turkey and Greece previous to the battle of Navarino, and even some time subsequently, the impossibility of any attempt towards establishing schools for the Greeks is well known. Often and often, in the course of his residence at Smyrna, previous to that period, the writer has longed to make the attempt, and would in one instance actually have tried the experiment, if the late English consul, had not as judiciously as effectually, dissuaded him from it, by a representa-

tion of the danger with which it would be attended, both to the person attempting it and those who were the objects of it.

When the writer returned from Europe in 1829, he was delighted to find that the attempt had not only been made, but most successfully, by an American gentleman, the Rev. Mr. Brewer, sent expressly for the purpose, and schools were established first in the islands and subsequently in Smyrna.

*June 2, 1830.*—In the spring of June 1830, the writer proposed to Mr. Brewer a visit to the Seven Churches and Aivali, in the hope of being able to effect something towards their re-establishment, by the erection of schools; but for several weeks the journey was postponed, partly from the dangerous state of the roads, caravans having been repeatedly attacked and plundered, and the passengers murdered, or otherwise ill treated, and partly by the indisposition of Mr. Brewer; but on this day it was definitively agreed to set out, on a short excursion only, first to Pergamus and Aivali, and then, if circumstances permitted, to the Troad.

We engaged my old friend Milcom, and four



horses, and accompanied by a young Armenian of good family, who from anxiety to accompany us, offered to supply the place of a servant, but whom we dignified with the more elevated rank of Tergiman, we quitted Smyrna about twelve, having long previously dispatched Milcom with the horses to await our arrival at Cordelion. A boat conveyed us to the Cordelion cafinet before one, saving us thereby a troublesome ride of some hours, along the shores of the bay, over a bad stony road. Our horses had not arrived, and did not arrive till a quarter after three, when we quitted the cafinet and proceeded along the road to another café, through innumerable armies of locusts of various growths, from that of a small black fly to a full-sized bee, but as yet unfurnished with wings.\*

\* The following is an extract from my journal of the Tour through the Vale of the Cayster, which has been already alluded to.—May 8, 1827: “Left Baintir at seven o’clock, accompanied by all the great Turks, &c., armed from head to foot with muskets, pistols, and yatagans, in grand procession, to exterminate the locusts! I was awoke at a very early hour by the Turkish tambour, which was beating a summons for the entire population, Turk, Christian, and Jew, to rise *en masse* and sally out to destroy these destructive insects. Arrived on the field of action about eight o’clock; the hedges

At a quarter past four, a village, called Chili, lay on our right, on the mountain side, and very soon after the rain, which had been threatening, commenced. At first we congratulated ourselves on what we called light summer rain, refreshing and invigorating, but it soon increased to such a degree, that notwithstanding our horses were put to full speed, we were soaked to the skin before we reached Menimen at half-past six. The hard riding was inconvenient to Mr. Brewer, and to

were darkened by the masses of locusts, though not of more advanced growth than a large fly. Hundreds of people were to be seen, Turks, Jews, Greeks, and Armenians, grouped in all directions, brushing the locusts together in immense heaps with brushes, &c. at the beat of the tambour, and then with a thundering hurrah, jumping upon the heaps, and killing them. Other parties took a different mode, by sweeping the masses into a small stream, where, like immense swarms of bees clustered together, they sunk to the bottom.

“Only a short week after, I witnessed the exact picture presented by the prophet, (Joel ii. 3.) The locusts, already nearly full grown, formed an immensely long line, and of considerable breadth, in a beautiful verdant meadow; their advance was exactly that of an army in one unbroken straight line; *“the garden of Eden was before them, but a desolate wilderness behind;”* every vestige of vegetation and of verdure had totally disappeared.

hold our umbrellas was really a work of difficulty to both of us. It was our intention to go to the khan, but on arriving at the outskirts of the town, Tackvore pressed us so much to go to a friend's house, an Armenian, that expecting more comfort than at the khan, we consented. If our apartment was not better than the khan would have afforded, it was at least as thickly inhabited; and so disturbed was our rest, by this self-invited society, that we arose after a night of misery, and vented our discontent by changing the name of *Many-men*, into another more appropriate.

*Thursday June 3.*—Menimen has been generally considered to stand on the site of the ancient town of Temnus, which, according to Strabo, was situated at or near the mountain ranges of Cumæ, Phocæa, and Smyrna. By Pliny, it is placed in the interior at some little distance from the mouth of the Hermus, and by the Tabular Itinerary on the road leading from Smyrna to Cumæ. A high ridge, conspicuous from its numerous wind-mills, rises immediately behind the town of Menimen, which, if this be the site of Temnus, must have been the acropolis. I walked up to it, and over it, this morning before break-

fast, but could not discover the smallest vestige in proof of such a conjecture. Chandler must have mistaken the windmills, for “the *many castles* ;” for not a trace of any can be found at present. Though Pliny says it was not far from the mouth of the Hermus, yet Strabo describes that river as falling into the sea not near Temnus, but Phocæa ; this is, however, quoted from Herodotus, in whose time probably, Temnus did not exist. We visited the Greek school, where the plan of *mutuel enseignement* had been introduced a short time before, but it was not then in operation. In the corner of the school are several marbles with inscriptions, one of which, on a square pedestal, commenced thus ;

ΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΙΟΝ . Β . ΤΟΥ  
ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ . ΤΟΝ . ΕΠΙ  
ΚΑΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΝ ΑΕΥΚΑ  
ΝΟΝ . ΤΟΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΑ . ΠΕ  
ΡΑΙΑΣ ΤΗΣ ΜΗΤΡΟΣ

&c. &c. &c.

On another stone, with letters of much more ancient form, was the following :

ΧΡΥΣΙΣ ΚΛΕΙΝΝΑΓΟΡΟΥ ΤΟΝ ΑΝΔΡ  
ΚΛΕΙΝΝΑΓΟΡΑΝ ΠΕΛΟΠΟΣ

In a room carefully locked, we were shown a quantity of marble door-cases, of a circular form, of beautiful red and variegated marble—and we were told of an equestrian statue, buried beneath the pavement of the court. All these, including the inscriptions, were discovered at a place called Nemourt, which the priest told us is five hours from Menimen. In the map of M. Choiseul Gouffier, Nemourtis is said to be on the site of the ancient town of Cumæ; but five hours, common calculation of the country, is not much above fifteen miles, and certainly, the place pointed out to us by the priest, a whitish looking hill, not far from the sea, neither agrees with the situation of Cumæ, nor with the distance assigned to it of five hours: it did not appear farther off than ten or twelve miles, and would agree better with the vicinity of Leucæ, to which possibly the name in the inscription has reference.

It was nearly ten o'clock when we came to the Hermus; we were here delayed some time by the disembarkation from the ferry-boat of other passengers; Turks with asses loaded with pottery, shining smartly with gilding, or a cheaper substitute. One of the asses, in attempting to

get out of the boat, had its leg jammed in a hole within, while the rest of the body lay outside, struggling in the mud. It was most painful to see the poor animal, and more extraordinary to see it freed without broken legs, after the long-continued use of hatchets and levers.

We passed the insulated hill of Booranjook at half-past ten. This at a distance, and it is visible far off, has completely a castellated appearance, and when near, is a most commanding situation for an acropolis; we saw a few ancient fragments near it, and thought it quite as likely to have been the position of Temnus as Menimen. The village of Yenikeuy, the "new town," almost a certain evidence that an ancient one was near it, lay on the right at the mountain foot.

On either side of the road numerous ploughs were preparing the ground for cotton, and the sowing the seeds of carpoushes, (*melons*,) and other crops, was on so extensive a scale as to employ numerous persons. In a burial-ground in which were numerous fragments, and which we passed at half-past twelve, we had a fine view of the sea—a road on the right leads to Guzel-hissar. At one o'clock, while the horses were wa-

tered at a fountain, we walked in advance down a steep hill ; the country, which was an open one, with little wood, was excellent for pasturage, and covered with the flocks and tents of Eurukes. Mr. Brewer is a very good mineralogist, and we found here several fine specimens of chalcedony, agate, jasper, hornstone, &c. The locusts were all over the country.

It was half-past two when we came to the Guzel-hissar cafinet, and while the horses were feeding we walked to an eminence behind it, overlooking an ancient ruined bridge over the Xanthus, and observed the course of that river, near which, at its entrance into the sea, must have been the town of Cumæ, which has the Xanthus on several of the coins. We left the cafinet at half-past four, and had fine views as we rode along the eastern edge of the Gulph of Sanderli, at one part of which we saw at the bottom, (or southern extremity,) a circular flattened hill, having evident traces round it of ancient walls.\*

\* The position of Temnus, Neontichos, and Leucæ, cannot yet be said to be decidedly fixed ; we have already noticed the contradictory accounts of Pliny as to the first, who is sup-

In the course of our ride we passed by a lake which I had not seen in a former journey, and

posed to say it lay at or near the mouth of the Hermus ; whereas, he agrees elsewhere with Strabo and others in placing it in the interior. At all events, I cannot fix it at Menimen, on the evidence of Dr. Chandler's windmill castles ; and I am supported by better authority, for Major Rennell says, " Its site is unknown ; Menimen is too far inland for it." Much of the difficulty in fixing the sites of these towns no doubt arises from the changes effected by the Hermus, which, besides the immense tracts of new land formed by its deposits, has clearly wandered far from its ancient course. The town of Leucæ very probably stood on the spot pointed out to us at Menimen as called Nemourtis, for that must be the promontory called Cross-head, and the hill pointed out to me on my first journey, called Lefke hill, and near which, on the road by the sea to Foges, (Phocæa,) is a village called Lefke. Guzel-hissar is probably the site of either Neontichos or Ægæ, unless the name of a village finely situated on the mountain slope, about three hours from Menimen, and called Dokush, has any affinity with Neontichos by the common substitution of D for T. Choiseul saw an old *castle*, which he supposed to be Neontichos, at the distance of one hour and a half after passing the ferry at the foot of Mount Sardine—a name which he applies also to the mountain on which stands Guzel-hissar. I suppose this castle was at the large village of Halvagekeuy, which, from its magnificent situation at the foot of the mountain near an opening or narrow valley between the ridges, I imagined at my first journey to be the site of some considerable ancient town, though I was not near enough to distinguish any ancient remains. But Neontichos was only four miles from



which Milcom said had been formed by the rains, &c. during the last two or three years. It was not far from hence, that we rode over a considerable space of rather moist ground abounding, in a most extraordinary manner, with insects and reptiles. The locusts were innumerable, and the large black and green cricket, of which there were several varieties in form and colour, seemed to be feeding on the locusts. But this spot was most remarkable for the quantity of snakes, of an immense size, and of a species I had only once seen before in the vale of

another town called Larissa, which was about nine miles from Cumæ. It was on the great road from Smyrna to Cumæ, or rather from the Hermus to Cumæ, and by one author is described as on this plain, and the soil accumulated by the floods of the Hermus, a position seemingly inconsistent with Xenophon's account of its great strength, when it was unsuccessfully besieged by Thimbron; and which would rather imply an elevated situation. In the map, Nemourt is allowed to stand, as placed by Choiseul, on the site of Cumæ, because possibly there are two places of that name; but certainly that is not the Nemourtis, pointed out to us from Menimen. Cyme, or Cumæ, by the description in Homer, was an elevated city at the foot of Mount Sardine, rather at variance with the position usually assigned to it, at the edge of the gulf of Sanderli. Perhaps the circular flattened hill which we saw is the site of this celebrated city.

the Cayster. The colour was reddish brown ; a singular plaiting or fold of the skin reached on each side of the head half way down the body ; and the tail had a horny termination, (the female probably only,) as in some species of locust and cricket ; the average length from four to five feet.

I attacked one of enormous size and length, but having only a small twig, could make no impression ; my opponent stoutly defended himself, taking refuge, after he had been driven from bush to bush, round the stem and roots of an agnus castus. Here he defied all my attacks, and though I thrust the twig actually into his mouth several times, he was not to be dislodged. I cut off the heads of some others, and on a close examination, found they had no fangs. In the course of this day I killed also two snakes of a smaller size, and differing in appearance, one having a chain of black spots all down the back, not unlike the viper : I cut off their heads too, and reserved them for examination at home.

We had determined to sleep at the Kesil-keuy, or Kilze-keuy café, induced by a wish to investigate the remains said to be in the vineyards there,

and particularly the *torse* of Hercules; but on coming there, ten minutes before seven, we found no provisions of any kind were to be had, and on the assurance of Milcom, that they were abundant in the village of Kesil-keuy, we proceeded thither. At the back of the café are considerable foundations of ancient walls, extending a long way. The road to the village was an ascent through thickets of evergreen shrubs. In two places on the right we saw, or fancied we saw, some ancient walls, but we had no time to examine them. It was half-past seven when we arrived at Kesil-keuy.

Here Tackvore had promised we should be well accommodated at the house of another of his Armenian friends; but it was not without great difficulty that we could get permission to be lodged in a filthy Turkish house. Tackvore was dispatched to get a fowl, but finding his friend's society more engaging than our own, we saw no more of him, and through the interest of Milcom we were supplied with a greasy pilau and rancid butter.

Our apartment was so horrible, that we determined to sleep in the open air; but the wind

blowing coldly, we were compelled to place our beds on a sort of a wooden shelf, elevated about four feet from the floor, on which, as there was but little space, the position of our beds was adjusted mathematically and diagonally. We had been some time in bed, if not actually reposing, when the *fowl* made its appearance, brought by a Turkish cook, the master of the mansion, after eleven o'clock. He wondered much when we deferred it for a morning repast, and determined that this specimen of his cookery talents should not be thrown away; the said fowl disturbed our rest once more, the Turk awaking us at half-past three to take our orders respecting it.

*Thursday, June 4.*—It was half-past six before we left the village, which is misery personified; the road down from it till it joins the great road from Smyrna to Pergamus, was through evergreen thickets; locusts as yesterday, in immense masses, and multitudes of the larger green and black cricket. It rained from time to time rather heavily, to the discomfort of several groupes of Turkish ladies, whom we met on the plain in their holiday dresses, this being the last day of the Courban Bairam. We crossed the

Caicus, by the bridge, at half-past eight, and at ten arrived at Pergamus, and settled in the same khan where I had been before, of better appearance than prepossessing recollections.

We were fatigued, but re-invigorated by a good breakfast, we walked to the mass of building with the circular towers, and notwithstanding Choiseul, (or perhaps more probably my friends M. Le Chevalier and Mr. Fauvel,) decided that it was the temple of Esculapius, I still think it was the ancient church, and should have thought so, even if its present designation of the Agios Theologos, did not bear strong testimony to the conjecture. I will not venture to say, that originally, it might not have had an earlier and different appropriation. During our absence Tackvore had been dispatched to the aga for permission to see the castle, and we found him at the khan with one of the aga's guards, who was to be our cicerone through the town.

He took us first into the church of St. Sophia, now a mosque. There are three aisles, and three domes or cupolas. The east end is not embowed, but straight, having two small windows over the altar, now the Kibl  . Some of the arches are

pointed, but many, evidently the oldest, circular. Outside, on the right of the north door, is what I thought might have been a baptistery, having been clearly a reservoir for water, though now filled up. We were desired to see an ancient bath, (not the same which I saw in my first journey, which contains the celebrated vase, \*) but having

\* For a small bacshish I was permitted to go into the bath in which stands the celebrated vase; though I had despaired of seeing it, as the bath was occupied by females during the morning, and subsequently by men; but to my surprise, I was actually admitted while a number of females were reclining on the marble benches around the vase. It seems that the laws of the Medes and Persians do not always hold good in Turkey, or that I was more favoured than Belon. He says, “Il y a des bains en certains endroits où les femmes vont seulement le *Jeudi* après midi; donc par erreur ainsi que je vouloye entrer en un baing comme ès autres jours, ne scachant point tel usage, trouvant la porte ouverte, comme de coustume, estant entrè dedans, trouvay une grande campagne de femmes Turques,—mais si je n’eusse bien sceu le gagner de vistesse, j’estois en peril de mourir, car la loi de Mahomet est si rigoureuse en ces cas là, qu’un homme n’auroit moyens de se salver, si non en contre faisant du fol.” The ladies, in the bath at Pergamus, so far from being alarmed or offended by the intrusion, even displayed a spirit of antiquarianism, and made some critiques on the beauty and age of the vase; and one actually reminded my conducteur to show me some inscriptions over the entrance of the bath. By a singular coincidence I was also here on a *Thursday*, the very day when poor Belon had such a happy escape from playing the fool.

little time, we went on to the khan, seeing on our way a great deal of wall of exactly similar construction with the Agios Theologos ; but though in a line with it, too remote to have been united, except as an outer wall.

Mounting our horses, we proceeded to the acropolis ; on our way visiting the Armenian church, in which we saw nothing deserving notice, though the priest pointed to a Greek inscription. It was brought from St. Sophia, and had in later Greek letters the word *Episcopos*.

We then ascended to the citadel, an undertaking of great labour for the poor horses, and it would have been impracticable for ourselves on foot, and examined its antiquities at our leisure. Mr. Turner calculates the height two hundred feet. Here must surely be some great typographical error ; if not, let him try it once more, and in a June or July sun. The view was superb in the extreme, and with Mr. Cousinery's plan of the town, engraved in Choiseul, before us, as we were seated on the walls of the acropolis, we compared the different objects of antiquity in the town beneath.

We descended on foot about five o'clock, and

on our way went into the Greek church. Innumerable tapers and fires were burning in all directions in the churchyard, which was thronged with people; and the smell of the incense, though in the open air, was insupportable. The countless tapers seemed purposely lighted to convict me of mis-stating the *dark* appearance of the church within.\* It was the anniversary of the mass for the dead, or what a Catholic would call reading over the Bede roll. Every one had a small bit of paper about two inches square, on which were written the names of his deceased relations, and the date of their decease, the price of authentication of which by the priest was ten paras. The schoolmaster, to whom I had formerly given a Testament, was removed, and his place supplied by a young man of prepossessing appearance, who has now fifty scholars.

While among the ruins of the acropolis, I caught several of that beautiful insect called *panormia coa*, and which is engraved in Captain Beaufort's

\* "Though the sun was blazing in full splendour on all the scene without, this poor church was so dark within, that even with the aid of a glimmering lamp I could not distinctly see the figures on the screen."—*Visit to the Churches*, p. 281.



Caramania; and among a variety of other flowers, a beautiful small clustered pink, resembling that commonly called the pheasant-eyed. We had many boys with us, Greeks and Turks, one of the latter a particularly zealous cicerone, directing our attention to every thing that was curious. Mr. Brewer thought that the plains of the Caicus, &c., as seen from the citadel, resembled the ancient Sigma.

Having dined on roast lamb from the kabobji's, we went again to the Greek church, and after much conversation with the didascolos about establishing a school on the Lancastrian plan, he accompanied us to the metropolitan house, where all the priests were assembled to feast upon *colyba*, the funeral banquet.\* We proposed our plan for the establishment of a school, and one of them accompanied us to the khan. We had brought some Greek Testaments with us from Smyrna, and the priest took four of them, paying a trifling price; for Mr. Brewer very judiciously remarked, that however trifling the purchase

\* The principal ingredient is *boiled wheat*, in allusion, probably, to the cheering emblem presented by it of the resurrection. (1 Cor. xv. 37.)

money, the book would be more prized than if gratuitously distributed. It was pleasing to see the anxiety of two boys to be the possessors each of a Testament, and they produced the money with so much good will, sixty paras, at that time about sixpence, that we departed at the outset from our resolution, and gave them the books.

The evening passed in the amusing society of a Turk, who was *tinkling* his alarum watch, a clumsy silver one, and pressing us unceasingly to purchase it at two thousand piastres, and in the frequent visits of coin-venders, one of whom, for a paltry Electrum, demanded twenty thousand piastres !

*Saturday, June 5.*—An attempt was made this morning by the aga to impose on us, by demanding thirty piastres haratch for Milcom ; probably because yesterday we had not complied with the moderate demands of his man who conducted us to the castle. My firman soon settled the matter. We examined again the old building near the bridge, and felt assured that the centre part at least had been the church. The plaister, *painted*, still remains in some of the windows. From the striking conformity of the

*brick-work* with the remains of the churches at Sardis and Philadelphia, I should be disposed to believe the whole erection much posterior to Christianity. In a small apartment connected with the Agios Theologos, we saw a papas, an elderly man, keeping a small school. We proposed to assist him with the means of establishing a free-school, but he said the parents would not send their children. Mr. Brewer gave the other schoolmaster various articles of apparel to be distributed among the female children, as encouragements to attend the school. Returning to the khan, and experiencing again the imposition of the khanji and all the establishment, Greeks, we left Pergamus at half-past nine by the same road we had entered it yesterday; but it diverged soon a little to the right of the mountain. At a quarter before eleven crossed a river, having a few minutes before killed a phalangium of enormous size—at the same time a beautiful green lizard, by the road side, appeared so little accustomed to the sight of man, that it scarcely moved out of the way.

At eleven o'clock we came abreast of the bridge over the Caicus, which we had crossed

yesterday, lying on our left at the distance of a mile and a half. Near it is a small rocky hill, at a distance resembling a tumulus : a number of hills detached from each other, but in a line with this hill, extend down the centre of the plain, probably connected once as a range, but insulated now by alluvial deposit. Passing a chifflek at twelve, these hills lay farther off, as our road diverged to the right close by the mountain range. At half-past twelve I alighted to examine a large serpent which had just been killed. It was yellow, and greenish below, and of a dusky colour above, with a small flattened head. There were formidable fangs in the upper jaw.

Mr. Brewer expressing some surprise at my familiarity with the snake family, I related to him what I will take the liberty of also relating to the reader, in proof that this attachment was also reciprocal.

About a month before the battle of Navarino, I had a visit from a bulky, rubicund Armenian, who, near the entrance of the Besestein, exercises the joint mysteries of umbrella-mender and coin vender. “ Sare, bon jour, I come ask one little thing, oh tropo grande, Signor domine, very

good, will you give me ?”—“ How can I say before I know ?”—“ Oh, sare ! I ashamed to ask ; Sare, you have one head very good, multo bono. —“ And is not one head enough for one man, my good friend ?”—“ Signor Domine, you have one head very good, multo bono, oh ! give me a piece of your head.”—“ A piece of my head !—that may be rather inconvenient to me, without doing you much good.”—“ Sare, Signor, scusate, you have one living head very good, and one dead head, very good, multo bono.” “ More than I knew before, my friend.”—“ Sare, you have one dead head, Mizr,\* will you give me un poco, mikro komati, dead head.” I now found out he meant the head of an Egyptian mummy, and asked what he could possibly want it for ? “ O sare, the one boy arrosti, molto malato, very sick ! take iatrico, plenty, plenty ; but molto malato, will you give him a bit of your head ?”

I had seen a drawer even in England, labelled *mummy*, but never saw it called out into actual service before ; and as the poor fellow’s heart was evidently set on the wonder-working head, I placed it before him on the table. It had

\* The common name in the East for Egypt.

been conveniently cut in two by some former possessor, in search of a golden coin of Ptolemy, and therefore the umbrella-mender had no difficulty in extracting as much of the embalming substance, strongly aromatic and dark as pitch, as would make about a dozen pills, and left me highly delighted. The following week, his gratitude had no bounds ; the boy had taken the whole, and was perfectly restored to health.

The head was returned to its former position at the bottom of a black leather trunk, and a quantity of miscellaneous papers filled the space above it. The lid was fastened as usual, the door of the room locked, and the key taken out.

We left Smyrna for England soon after, and within another fortnight was fought the memorable battle of Navarino. The news of so unexpected an event produced such alarm in Smyrna, that a most valued friend, M. La Fontaine, went down to my house to place the more valuable property in a state of security. He unlocked the door of the apartment, in which, among a variety of miscellaneous articles, was the black leather trunk. Lifting the lid, and seeing it apparently filled with papers, he put down his hand

by the side to ascertain if it contained any thing of value. He withdrew it as suddenly, for his hand had come into contact with something of an icy coldness, and which notwithstanding seemed to have motion. Removing the papers, he saw the mummy head, and in one half of it, for it was open, lay snugly coiled up, and occupying the place of the brain, a thin-bodied, but very long snake !

How it came there is a mystery to this day, for door and windows were always closely fastened. Such, however, is the extraordinary fact, and two thousand years ago divine honours would have been paid to this favourite reptile of Esculapius, in the belief that it was the god himself personified, or at least his daughter Hygeia. Almost incredible as the relation may appear, it can be authenticated by the master of a merchant vessel, who begged the snake from M. La Fontaine, with the intention, I believe, of depositing it in the museum at Bristol.

At one o'clock, having just passed a chifflek on the mountain side called Arabah, the plain was divided by a range of hills shutting out the Caicus on our left. Here we saw two of those beautiful white birds of the crane form, with a

white plume or tuft behind the head called, I believe, *Demoiselles*. At half-past one we crossed a small clear river, the ancient *Evenus*, and soon after arrived by a paved road at a *cafinet*, where *Milcom* was disposed to stop: so were not we. Here the ranges of mountains nearly closed up the passage, but now we entered a spacious plain extending to the sea on the left, with the view of *Mytelene* beyond, and the mountain range still on our right. Near the foot of the mountain we saw some ruins, of which arches were visible, but apparently constructed with small stones, possibly not far from the site of *Atarnea*.

The plain we now entered was very luxuriant, cropped with corn, beans, &c., but very boggy, as we experienced to our no small discomfort. At half-past two, a tumulus lay close by the road on the right; and at twenty minutes after three we arrived at *Kaspakumi Chifflek tou Makarouni*, opposite *Mitylene*, where several small vessels were lying. All the way from *Pergamus* the sky was black as night behind us, but beautifully clear with a refreshing breeze in front. The population of this village was said



to be about one hundred Greeks, and a few Turks. \*

During our stay here, about two hours, the Greek Testaments were again produced, and in so great request, that we parted with all our stock, one only reserved. One Greek, Greek-like, bargained hard for a reduction of price, which was only sixty paras, (sixpence,) and at last offered in payment a false piece of money! Another Greek gent. took me aside, and with a piteous story about two children, slaves to a Turk at Aiasmati, (whom he told Mr. Brewer, by the-bye, he was come from Syra to endeavour to steal away,) concluded with begging some money. I gave him a few piastres, and in return was led to infer I had given too little, as he instantly asked for a shirt and other apparel. We saw the two priests, one of whom, an old man, very *cautiously* received the books and tracts offered him, and looking as if he wished those about him should not have them.

We left the Makarouni Chifflek at half-past five, and at ten minutes after six a large square

\* This is called in the map of Choiscul, *Tour des Agas*.

chifflek, or rather conac for troops, lay on the left, and a village on the mountain side at the right. At a quarter before seven we crossed a wide but shallow river running down to the sea, called the Aiasmati-chay, and soon after we arrived at Aiasmati. This is a small place of only one hundred Turkish houses, and forty Greeks. M. Choiseul supposes Aiasmati stands on the site of Attea: it may do so, but we found nothing, a few granite pillars in the mosques, and two or three fragments in the burial-ground excepted, to warrant the conjecture that an ancient town stood at Aiasmati.\*

We walked about the village, seeing the conacs, the burial-ground, the Greek church, &c. The church was in the khan, probably for security, and only a few doors from our apartment. We found the old priest chanting the service, with about a dozen other persons. He returned our visit rather at an unusual and inconvenient hour, midnight, when we were in our beds, and pressed us much to remain the following day, a grand fete, being Whitsunday.

\* I should rather think the ancient town will be found nearer the coast, and that it was not Attea, but Attalia.

*Sunday, June 6.*—We rose before four o'clock, but though we had given positive orders to have our horses ready to start at that hour, Milcom was not ready till past six. We attended the service of the church at five, and counted, including females, separated as usual, about forty persons. Each person, on entering, laid his one or two paras upon the plate, and took his taper, which, when lighted, was stuck on the stand before the skreen. They appeared miserably poor, but devout in their way; though the priest, from time to time, was *scolding* from within the screen, while the service was chaunting without. Mr. Brewer remarked a peculiarity in the manner of chaunting.

At half-past six o'clock we entered a charming olive grove, the trees, many of them, of great size and beauty, though the most part young. We were strongly reminded of the good and the wild olive tree in the eleventh chapter of Romans, and of the passage "oil out of the flinty rock," though here was a very fertile soil. We quitted it at half-past seven, when the view opened on all sides, and after passing through a vineyard, again entered the region of olives, but in an open

country. All the hills on the right were covered from summit to base, with olive trees. We saw also a few quinces to remind us we were in the neighbourhood of Cydonia. Numerous wind-mills in front of us were evidence that a town could not be far distant, but as Milcom assured us last night, that Aivali was at least three hours and a half from Aiasmati, we could not imagine that we were near it, till we had actually entered the town before eight o'clock, little more than one hour and half from Aiasmati, though we rode slowly.

The history of this interesting place is too well known. At the commencement of the revolution, Aivali had a population of nearly forty thousand. Her college was the admiration of foreigners ; it constantly numbered three hundred and fifty scholars of all ages belonging to the town, the environs, and the isles. They were taught ancient and modern Greek ; belles lettres, natural philosophy and mathematics, logic, rhetoric, and moral philosophy. The chairs were occupied by distinguished professors, recommended not less by their talents than by their virtues. On the 13th of June, 1821, Aivali became a heap of

cinders. The colleges, the hospitals, the churches, were all swept away by ravages of war.\*

Nothing could be more heart-rending than to witness the wretched desolation presented on every side as we rode through the town ; the houses, which covered a great extent of space in the bottom and up the sides of a high hill, being now almost levelled with the ground. Instead of the innumerable houses of lofty height, which existed eight years ago, naked roofless walls, of from five to fifteen feet. The population was returning, and at present, (1830;) the inhabitants are calculated from eight to ten thousand, rebuilding, of course, their ruined houses. I observed an elderly woman, in black, seated lonely within the ruins of a large mansion ; her head reclined upon her hand in a posture of deep reflection. It had probably been the scene of earlier and happier days !

\* Aivali, or Haivali, is supposed to be built on the ancient site of Heraclia ; its modern name means in Turkish, as Kydonia in Greek, the town of Quinces. A very interesting account of the place, and especially of the college, is given by Rev. W. Jowett, in his *Christian Researches in the Mediterranean*, p. 58. He was there in 1818, of course before the Greek revolution, and when the numerous population was

Being Whit-Sunday, there was an appearance of neatness and cleanliness in the dress of the people in the midst of the surrounding wretchedness. The khan was a new one, built on an extensive scale, and very handsome. We anticipated more comfort and cleanliness than we found ; the only chamber unoccupied, being sufficiently peopled with a numerous colony from Menimen. All the other rooms seemed occupied by Greek families in great poverty, the low price of an apartment, five piastres (not one shilling and sixpence) a month, inviting them to reside there.

flourishing and happy. The population was then estimated at 25,000. There were then a college, a library, and printing-press.

The college was built in 1803. Gregorius lectured on Ecclesiastical History, and Theophilus on Mathematics, when Mr Jowett was at Aivali.

Mr. Jowett illustrates the death of Eutychus by falling from a window in the upper chamber. The *country* houses of Mitylene, called Pyrgoi, illustrate this much more happily than those in the town ; and if the “ many lights” could have been understood of the open *Abatjours* all round the upper rooms in those houses, the illustration would have been complete ; but λαμπαδες cannot be correctly so understood, and the “ many lights” will be evidence of the truth of scripture history, as Troas, like Mitylene, might be said to be in the olive region, where oil was cheap.

It was almost a hospital, for there were many poor wretches afflicted with various disorders on every side of us. One poor lad from Adramyttium seemed very ill; I felt his pulse, and though a little quick, he was apparently free from fever. It was evidently the effect of excessive exhaustion and want of food! He was a stranger to every body in the khan, and it was pleasing to see a poor woman nursing him assiduously and giving him soup, though he had not a para to repay her!

Having breakfasted, we had many a visitor, and among others an intelligent Greek of better condition entered readily into our views of endeavouring, if not to raise up again the ancient college from its ruins, at least to do something for education, by establishing a school of *mutuel enseignement*. He was our cicerone through the town; and keeping the grand object of our journey in view, we requested to be shown the churches and existing school, for the purpose of finding a spot for the erection of another. We visited the site of the celebrated college, now a waste of stones, the walls only from five to six feet high. Here was ample space, and abundance of materials, but as our views were of a

humbler character, more in proportion to our means, than to refound a classical school, we quitted this place, indulging the pleasing anticipation that the day might yet arrive when, from the returning prosperity of the towns-people themselves, the chairs of the professors would be once more filled.

The ruins of two hospitals, one intended for that innovation of innovations in Turkey, a quarantine hospital, were next pointed out to us. And now commenced our survey of the churches.

To Agios Georgios, the church of St. George, we paid our first respects, as in duty became an Englishman; and I am not sure that my friend altogether disclaimed the national saint. Perhaps it was intended as a mark of respect to St. George's patronized country, that we were admitted behind the skreen, into what is still called Bomos by the Greeks, and shown a large crucifix, from either arm of which was suspended a bag. One contained the holy bread, kept in a small box, cut into very minute bits, to be given as the *viatica* to the sick; the other contained the wine. On the table was the sacramental bread, consecrated for the day, and cut also in



small square bits, like the usage in our own churches. The priest, as a singular mark of favour, presented us with the holy oil to smell to, made at Constantinople, by the patriarch on Holy Thursday, and distributed to all the churches. It certainly was not as odoriferous as myrrh, aloes, and cassia. Another mark of respect was to allow us to place our lips reverently on the richly bound Evangelion.

We next visited the church of the Virgin, called *Panagia ton Orphanon*, and behind it saw a space inclosed by a wall, about fifty feet by one hundred, which would do well for our school. We were shown others, but lastly that of St. Demetrius. Here we had a conversation with the only schoolmaster in Aivali, who had a small shed near the church, in which the sheets of the system of *mutuel enseignement* were suspended round the walls, but evidently only for show, not being at all in use; the few scholars being taught in the church entrance, and in the old way. The number of names in the list amounted to seventy-two, and the price by the month was from one piastre to fifty paras—from threepence to fourpence. The master seemed

disposed to take the direction of our proposed school, and looked intelligent. But the priests of this and the other churches did not seem to enter heartily into the plan, though our friendly cicerone said, “ O they are *kaloi anthropoi*, good men, and eat and sleep famously.”

Returned to the khan, we had a visit from two of the principal men of Aivali, friends of our guide. Mr. Brewer proposed our plan to them; that we were disposed to advance half the expense of building a school, and paying a master, on condition that the town should pay the other half. They, Greek-like, seemed to say they could not afford to pay any thing; but when we firmly gave as a *sine quâ non*, that we must be met half way, they proposed to assemble the leading men of the town, and have a consultation. Unfortunately, the Gerondes were gone to Mitylene, and would not return to day.

We were now honoured with a visit from the French consul, who had previously most politely sent his servant to offer any assistance. Though a native of Italy, he had sufficient vivacity and locomotion to have proved him a real Frenchman. He was here at the time of the catas-

trophe, and leaving his flag waving over the consular residence when the Turks were landing, he retired for safety to Musconisi. Returning, he found his house had been burnt to the ground, without any regard to the protecting flag, having been previously plundered of twenty thousand piastres, his own private property, besides *immense* property belonging to the towns-people, which had been placed in his magazines for security. His strong box and archives, as French and Austrian consul, were also destroyed. He subsequently retired to Rhodes, and has only returned to his post within the last three weeks.

The weather increasing in heat, we abandoned our excursion to the Troad, and dismissing Milcom and the horses to Smyrna, determined to pass over to Mitylene, and return to Smyrna by sea. Having reposed a little to refresh ourselves after the exposure to the sun, we walked in the evening to the top of the hill. The view, a magnificent panorama, included the Gulf of Adramyttium; and if it had not been so late, we might, with glasses, perhaps, have made out that town, and the ruins of Assos, if not somewhat of the Troad. But we were obliged to return, as it

grew late, and it was most affecting to traverse for such a length of way, through what had not long since been, for Turkey, a handsome city ; now a heap of walls, undisturbed by any other sounds than the barking of dogs, and the mournful note of the *cucuvaia*.

On arriving below, where had once been what a Frenchman would call the *place*, we saw many well-dressed females hurrying to get towards the church of Agios Georgios—arrived there, the devotion consisted simply in many a bowing and crossing, not in the church, but in the open court towards it. We had many a painful feeling, and expressed it to the Greeks who visited us, to see such an anxiety to lavish money in rebuilding all the churches, while not a para could be spared to establish a school. Already *four* churches are restoring, for a population not at present exceeding eight or ten thousand, while at Smyrna, *three* churches suffice for more than thirty thousand !

*Monday, June 7.*—We would willingly have left Aivali to-day, for there was a great deal of sickness in the khan, and the water we drank of an unwholesome quality ; but the wind blew too strong to venture across to Mitylene in an open

boat. We had a visit from a deputation headed by a priest, who were collecting subscriptions for rebuilding the churches. They presented us with a plate already plentifully heaped with gold and silver coin, and requested our assistance. Mr. Brewer very properly and firmly expressed our sentiments, that it was a reflection, not to say disgraceful, to make the scanty population, wretchedly poor as they were, contribute to the rebuilding and ornamenting so many churches, when not the smallest disposition was shown to benefit these poor people in return, by erecting a school. Of course, we declined giving any thing.

The French consul pressed us with so much hospitality to dine with him, that we could not refuse; the dinner hour was half-past one. The consular mansion, more humble than its predecessor, consisted of three rooms:—viz. a kitchen on the left, and two rooms, not yet plastered, on the right of the entrance. We met the Russian consul, just arrived from Constantinople, and yesterday from Mitylene. He was also resident here at the time of the catastrophe of Aivali, and shared in the fate of the others, having his house

plundered, and burnt to the ground. He was now on his return, and preferring Mitylene as a residence, being consul at both places, came here to-day to have his firman read by the aga. Small as the house was, we were entertained in a most magnificent style, and after dinner went to see a boat recommended by the consul to convey us to Mitylene.

As it would evidently require time before our plan for the erection of a large public school for boys could be carried into effect, Mr. Brewer proposed that we should try what could be done for the female children; and our Greek friend and cicerone took us to the houses of two young Greek girls, whom he recommended as capable of keeping a school on the new system; the expense of which I agreed to share with Mr. Brewer. They were both very young and intelligent, one being only fourteen, who had been educated some months in the new schools established at Syra, through the exertions, in the first instance, of Mr. Brewer, and subsequently of my friend, the Rev. Henry Leeves. She wrote remarkably well, but did not read so well as the other, who taught on the old system. We proposed to

give them thirty piastres a month each, and twenty more to find a room for a school. The evening was spent in sketching an appeal to be sent by us to England and America, petitioning assistance for the re-establishment of schools at Aivali and the Seven Churches ; perhaps this will be given at the end of the journal. While thus engaged, we were intruded upon by a drunken half crazy Greek, of deistical and infidel principles, and who would not leave us till compelled to do so.

*Thursday, June 8.*—This night, notwithstanding every precaution of sweeping, and washing, and shaking, &c. we were more restless than ever ; the fleas were more than “ *industrious*,” and seemed determined to destroy us. I could fancy they were the unquiet spirits of the Turkish desolaters of Aivali, jealous of our anxiety to re-establish order and good principles. Our captain summoned us early, having, Greek-like, first made most imposing terms of twenty piastres for taking us to Mitylene, or one hundred if we proceeded to Smyrna. We embarked with some hesitation, from the violence of the wind, and the smallness of the vessel, deeply loaded with tiles, bags of cotton, &c.

It was about half-past nine when we set sail, having waited a full hour for the other passengers, and their teskerays, or permits for the bags of cotton, &c. They were a mixed party of Turks and Greeks. At ten o'clock we had crossed the passage to the island of Musconisi with a strong but fair breeze, and were at this time in the narrow passage formed by a monastery on the left, a square embattled low building, like the Sanjiac castle at Smyrna, and the town of Musconisi on the right. The latter, of which the ancient name was Poroselene, is beautifully built along the base and ascent of a hill, having some hundreds of houses, most of which, like Aivali, were a mass of ruins, and surmounted by a lofty tower-like building. This our antiquaries on board told us was ancient Ellenic, and had been in part thrown down by an earthquake about fourteen months before; the country around the town was still the region of olives.

We now passed through a narrow opening, formed by stakes driven into the water on each side, serving the double purpose of a weir for fish, and to mark the passage, the water being very shallow on either side. It was so narrow,



that the sides of our little caïck were scratched in passing it. Outside, the channel opened considerably, and in a few minutes we skilfully stuck hard aground. The boat, deeply loaded within six inches of the first streak, though some canvas placed above, made it appear much more, was not to be started, and with the assistance of all the passengers on board and overboard, the Turks good-naturedly undressing, and going into the water, we did not get off till eleven o'clock.

One of our Turkish passengers was a conjurer, performing feats with cards, passing an iron ring through the cheek, &c., and melodising our ears with a tambourine and a song. His assistant, a poor wretched boy, was so filthy, that in our constant endeavours to avoid too near an approach to him, our eyes were diverted, and we could not enjoy the beauty of the view as we approached the castle, and charming town, and olive-clothed mountains, of Mitylene.

It was about one o'clock when we arrived ; and having found our way to the house of Mr. Moyardo, the Spanish vice-consul, he received us most hospitably in his small but beautifully placed cottage, situated just under the magnifi-

cent castle, and commanding a delicious view of the opposite lofty mountains, covered to the base with olive-groves and country houses. Having rested a short time, and directed Tackvore to make a few additions to the consular kitchen, being sudden and unexpected guests, Mr. Moyardo offered to show us the town. He took us first to the metropolitan church, in which, among other curiosities, is a picture painted in 1815, of the martyrdom of a young Greek called Theodore, who no long time before was put to death in Mitylene under similar circumstances with those of the Greeks lately beheaded at Smyrna. The picture represents the various parts of his story, as his interviews with the mollah and Turkish authorities—in prison—various tortures, &c. He is now canonized as Agios Theodorus.

In the court of the church is the celebrated marble chair with the inscription ΠΟΤΑΜΟΝΟΣ ΚΑΘΕΔΡΙΑ. There was a Potamon at Mitylene in the time of Strabo. We then paid a visit to the despotes or bishop, lately arrived from Constantinople. He received us very politely, and conversed with us on the feasibility of establishing a school at Mitylene ; but he seemed to think

the people were too poor, and a great part of the year the children were absent with all the population at work among the olive plantations ; Mytilene, at such seasons, being almost deserted. We saw externally the new mosque. Oh ! would it were, from its beauty, a Christian place of worship !

We were then shown a pretty garden of the governor's son ; and soon after, the tomb of the regretted and amiable musselim of Smyrna, who was beheaded by the capitan pasha on the landing-place of Mitylene, in violation of the solemn guarantee given by him to Mr. Werry, the late consul, that his life should not be endangered ! It has two stones covered as usual with inscriptions, inclosed within a low wall, over and near which, the cypress, and cedar, and plane, throw a mournful and sympathizing shade. At a short distance stands the kiosk of the capitan pasha when he visits the island, and the musselim's tomb must ever be to him a powerful memento of the instability of his own greatness.

At the dinner-table our party was, Madame Moyardo, a Greek of Mitylene, to whom the house and a charming garden belonged, and her

sister Margaret, a very pleasing well-bred young lady, speaking good Italian. In Signor Moyardo's dining-room was a common loom for weaving cotton, and the walls were ornamented with ships, &c., not by Vandervelde. Much fatigued by want of sleep the preceding nights, I anticipated ample compensation when my bed was spread on the floor in the drawing-room, as the place d'honneur. Alas! I could close my eyes but once, and then dreaming of an attack by robbers, called out lustily on all the king's loyal subjects to come to my aid. The robbers were "the industrious," and their attack was terrible.

*Wednesday, June 9.*—On our way to the Ellenic school this morning, for Mitylene possesses an Ellenic school, we saw the bust of a female figure lying on the quay, and then a beautiful metope of the head of Perseus with garlands and boys, in the castle wall. We were not permitted to enter the castle, though Tackvore was sent to the governor to solicit permission. Very possibly within it, as at Bodrun, (Halicarnassus,) there may be many interesting remains. At the Ellenic school, the schoolmaster recognized in Mr. Brewer an old acquaintance, of Constanti-

nople, and expressed his joy by an un-English salute. He was, said Mr. Brewer, the best master in Constantinople, but quitted it for Syra, where he was disappointed, and had lately arrived in Mitylene. He had one hundred and thirty boys, some of whom read Demosthenes, Xenophon, &c., extremely well.

During our dinner at Mr. Moyardo's, he rather surprised me by an account of *two lions* which were seen by him and many persons near the castle some years ago ; that they were never seen after, and he supposed some one had carried them off in a boat. I ventured to hint that I probably misunderstood him, and that instead of the living monarch of the forest, they were lions of marble ; but his excellency explained that they were living lions, and in proof of it, told us that at one time he had missed a cow, and at another time a horse, much in the same place. If lions are at Mitylene, why should not Mr. Jolit have seen *one* near Smyrna ?

Towards evening, as the weather became a little cooler, though still oppressively hot, we called on the English vice-consul, a Cephaleniote, Signor Petearki ; he received us with open arms,

and proposed to show us sights which Signor Moyardo's antiquarian knowledge had overlooked. He took us first to the ruins of a small Greek church, the emplacement, it is said, of the temple of Apollo, and there were many evidences of it, in old walls, fragments, and inscriptions.

As Mr. Brewer and I had formed a plan to take a house here for the summer months, by which our families would avoid the excessive heats of Smyrna, and we could superintend our projected school here and at Aivali, we expressed a wish to see the country-houses, and proceeded out of the town, stopping however at first, to see many fragments and inscriptions near another spot, once also a small church. Not far from hence we went into one of the Mitylene country-houses, called, as all the others are, by the general name of *Pyrgos*, or tower, from its form, being a high building with a basement, and two, sometimes three stories, each containing usually only one room. The uppermost has generally on one or more sides the entire space filled with windows, or rather *abatjours*, to enjoy the views, which are magnificent in the extreme. This house was to be let, but independently of its

being too small for both our families, the wide crevices in the walls without, and the unsociable chasms in the staircase and floorings of the rooms within, made us apprehend the possible fate of the Ellenic tower at Musconisi.

We quitted it therefore in pursuit of others, and passed through a succession of delicious gardens, in one of which, having a mat spread beneath a tree, we enjoyed a cool draught of water, while the consuls refreshed themselves with a sufficiency of raw cucumbers. It was evident that consularian influence stood high here, at least for the honour of England, that of Signor Petrarki. As we wished to see something more of the country-houses, Moyardo and a little gentleman in the employ of the Russian vice-consul, returned, leaving the English vice-consul with us as cicerone.

Under his auspices we ventured into the metropolitan pyrgos, the bishop's country seat, most charmingly placed near the edge of the water, and surrounded, as all the others, by thick groves of large olive-trees, fig-trees, &c. We sat in a delicious kiosk, in the garden before the door, in which was a fountain or reservoir of re-

freshing water. A bunch of something resembling red poppies hung over the grand door of entrance, whether a tribute of respect, or to drive away the Vroukelakas, we could not learn. We saw many other houses, some of which were to be let, all built precisely on the same plan as the first described.

On our return towards the town, we found Signor Moyardo and two friends with him near a large field of fine wheat under the castle walls. These gentlemen bantered poor Moyardo sadly on his want of influence with the governor; the wheat-field belonged to his wife, and the governor thought proper to take possession of it without asking leave. It stood in his wife's name as a rayah, and therefore poor Moyardo had no redress. The same injustice had been exercised towards him in depriving his wife of a beautifully situated house, near his own. It was convenient for the *tacticos*, new troops, and was therefore taken without payment, and is now a ruin.

On arriving at the consulate, over the door of which, on an oval shield, were the insignia of Sardinia, as within, over the dining-room sofa,



was another with the stars of America, by a Mitylene artist; and a third, in the bed-room, of his most Catholic majesty, we saw a host of consuls, French, Imperial, &c., assembled at the door. Entering, we found the table-cloth again spread—the repast was a pyrgos of rice, powdered with cinnamon.

*Thursday, June 10.*—Tackvore found a caïck bound to Smyrna, and to sail this morning, and therefore we tried to excuse ourselves from a pressing invitation of the English vice-consul to dine with him, but he would take no excuses; and it was arranged that we should dine at one o'clock, and embark at four. The morning passed in a long conversation with the schoolmaster, who entered warmly into our plans about a school, and in returning the visits of the Imperial and French consuls.

The representative of his Majesty of Great Britain, and his lady, married at fourteen and with half a dozen children about her, received us most kindly, and entertained us most sumptuously. Mr. Moyardo and the Russian consul, with some other gentlemen, were of the party, and the glasses were knocked together till nearly in

shivers, in doing honour to what was intended for "God save the King," though but two of the party could pronounce a syllable of it. Our most hospitable host detained us till the reis of our caïck summoned us impatiently on board. But we could not leave the island without paying our respects to the governor. We had repeatedly called, but he had not arrived from the country.

He received us most kindly, and when we mentioned the possibility of our temporary residence at Mitylene, and the object of 'it, he expressed much satisfaction. He is an old man, in appearance about seventy, though he told Moyardo he was only sixty-one, of very venerable and dignified physiognomy. From the quantity of papers and letters about him, all *orderly* arranged, he was evidently a man of great business, as he must be of great fortune, imitating the example of the Pasha of Egypt, and constituting himself almost the only merchant in the island, by a monopoly of all its produce. His conac had a stately appearance, and his ante-rooms were crowded with attendants, and persons waiting for business.

Our English consul began to talk much and loudly to him, on a subject of which we understood little, except that it related to the influx of persons arriving here without being regularly supplied with passports. The governor evidently did not like the conversation, and gave symptoms of growing uneasy. We, therefore, offered our parting compliments, through Tackvore, who was an excellent dragoman, and taking leave also of our good friends the *proxenoi*, went on board our caick, at half-past three o'clock.

We found it pretty well filled—a small boat which lay in the open hold, had in it a Greek woman and three young children—there were other passengers, Turks and Greeks; and the crew seemed to consist of three men and a lad, who might be called the steward, as he was at the call of every body, every instant. We took possession of the quarter-deck, seated on our haybays, (travelling bags,)—our reis or captain was at the steerage, obliging and communicative, and perhaps more than usual, because he was the *ex-adelphos* (cousin) of Madame Moyardo. Our backs turned upon Mitylene, we could not enjoy much of the charming view of

the town, the sun being very powerful and our umbrellas spread. We made but little way, and had the coast of Mitylene four hours on our left. The captain, who was quite at home in the antiquities of his country, pointed out to us the sites of the various places on the opposite coast, as Aiasmati, &c., some considerable distance to the south of which I observed something like buildings on the edge of the water; and he said it was called Dekeli, and that these were the ruins of a castle. This is probably the site of Atarnea, and the few remains we had seen on our way from Pergamus must be near this, though a little more in the interior. More to the south still was a point of land, near which, a place called by the captain, Ajanos. This in the map of Choiseul is called Kanot-keuy, and supposed to be the site of the town of Canœ. Ajanos seems only a corruption of *Ægan*, which Strabo says was only another name for the promontory of Cane.

The wind now freshened; but from the east, a side wind; and one of its first effects was to carry off the hat of my friend Mr. Brewer, which being well fitted up for a hot day, with co-

verings and linings of white and green, was too valuable to be lost. I mention it only as an evidence of the skilfulness of Greek sailors, who, after much manœuvring in tacking and retacking, succeeded in recovering it.

As we passed the point *below* Ajanos our *Strabo*, the reis, told us that between that point and the river called in the large Turkish map, Pitane, there was a small *lake* with considerable remains of marble, that the water ran down from it, and that *below*, near the water's edge, was a large hole, *τρύπη*, which leads all the way to Pergamus! This story serves to fix the site of Pitane, the river being the Evenus; and an aqueduct conveyed water from this river, not to Pergamus but to Adramyttium. *Ευηνος ἐξ οὗ το ὑδραγωγεῖον πεποιηται τοις Ἀδραμηττηνοις.*

The town of Sanderli, we were told, was near this, containing three hundred houses. The wind being very light, we were a long time in passing down to the southern point of the gulf. Our fellow passengers amused themselves in taking their evening repast in select groupes, with all the usual delicacies of small sardanas swimming in oil, rancid black olives, &c. washed down

with copious draughts from a bottle of rackee. This last was, however, confined to the gentlemen Greeks. The crew and poorer passengers substituted a milder beverage from a large water jar. A groupe of Turks were squatted down near us, and regaled us with plentiful odours of garlic, which with cheese and bread formed their *batterie de cuisine*. Mr. Brewer and I, excited by so prevailing a taste, opened our stores, supping frugally enough on cheese, fruit, and crackers; we had also our water jar, the kind present of our considerate friend the French consul of Aivali. The Greeks enlivened us by singing, by way of dessert.

The wind now blew off the land, and sufficiently strong to carry us as low as Foglieri, when the captain fearing it would become a head wind, put into the port about half-past twelve. As he told us he should not quit it again till day-break, we left the boat, and tried to get admission into the café, on the beach; and Mr. Brewer solicited feelingly for a cup of coffee; but the hard-hearted cafidji was not to be disturbed, and we were compelled to spread ourselves upon the mats in the balcony. The mats

were too well tenanted already, and we descended to the *Rez au chaussé*, and seated ourselves more humbly on the bench before the door. At the first dawn of day, we took a walk through the town, and on the castle walls.

We re-embarked at half-past five o'clock, but the calm continuing, made but little way with the oars. We examined leisurely the coast as we passed along, and saw nothing that corresponded with the low tongue of land which was said to divide the two ports of Phocæa till we came to a place called Hadjilar Limene, where was a good bay, having for its lower boundary the long piece of land, or promontory, at the back of which, and in continuation of it, is the peaked hill seen from Smyrna, so conspicuous from its form.

About eight o'clock we breakfasted *en gourmand* on a bit of Greek cheese, bread and water. The calm continued, and at half-past nine we were in the open reach, at the head of which is the æstuary of a river, called Giphiri chay, the Bridge river; the captain said it came from a mountain not far off, and passed by Halvage-keuy, the village on the left going from Menimen to Guzel hissar, not that on the mountain

slope to the right. The wind freshened a little, and we landed in Smyrna about noon.

Soon after our return, the *appeal* which had been sketched among the ruins of Aivali in behalf of that place, and the Seven Churches, was forwarded by Mr. Brewer, in our joint names, to his countrymen. I felt so deeply interested in the subject, and perhaps a little jealous that America should have the exclusive honour of responding to this appeal, that I pledged myself on the behalf of my countrymen, perhaps rather prematurely, that whatever might be the amount of subscription in America and England, I would contribute an equal sum. It was most warmly received and supported in America, the press kindly lending their charitable aid, and the appeal appeared in the public papers.

I wish I could say as much. It was sent by me to England, and to ensure the certainty of its publicity, I took the liberty, perhaps an unauthorized liberty, of transmitting it through a channel, which of all others I fondly flattered myself would ensure the warmest reception for it. I had calculated more sanguinely than I had a right to do—and after an interval of three years,



our appeal, I believe, has never appeared in England.

The preceding journal will be some evidence that I had the cause of education as much at heart as any one; and had our appeal been made known in England, I might have enjoyed the pleasure of realizing, conjointly with Mr. Brewer, the objects of the cause we attempted to advocate.

The cause of education has, notwithstanding, gained instead of suffering—and the Church Missionary Society, in sending out Mr. Jetter, have placed it in much more efficient hands than mine. I bear willing testimony to the success with which that gentleman's exertions have been attended at first among the Greeks, and at present with the Turks.

## DISCOVERY OF THE RUINS OF AZANI.

OF recent discoveries in Asia Minor, there is perhaps none more important than that of the city of Azani. The ruins have latterly been visited by several travellers, among them Major the Hon. George Keppel, in 1829, who has given a detailed and excellent account of the ruins and inscriptions. But the merit of the original discovery is wholly due to the present Earl of Ashburnham, at that time Viscount St. Asaph; and the following obliging letter from his Lordship will perfectly establish his right to be called the discoverer of Azani. It will appear by it, that his Lordship visited the ruins in 1824. Count Alexander de la Borde and Dr. Hall, or rather, I believe, the latter alone, were at Azani in 1827. Messrs Caillé and Stamati in 1830. These gentlemen were employed by Monsieur Michaud, the historian of the Crusades. In the same year Mr. Meredith visited Azani, accompanied probably by Mr. D'Israeli and Mr. Clay.

*Brighton Feb. 20, 1289.*

DEAR SIR,

I am sorry that it is not in my power to send you any more precise information concerning the situation of Chavdour than is contained in the following extract from my journal. I have added a few observations on the remains, which I conceive prove that place to be the site of the ancient capital of the Azanitis, but the loss of the greater part of my papers, and a conviction of the necessity of trusting to the few notes that I have left, rather than to memory, will prevent my attempting more than a very slight and general account of that place.

The task, however, of describing these very interesting remains has fallen into abler hands than mine, if the report be true, that Chavdour, since I was there, has been visited by a distinguished French traveller, who is preparing to give the public an account of his residence in Asia Minor.

*July 24, 1824.*—I set out from Kiutaia at half-past three A. M., and at two P. M. arrived at Chavdour.

There is probably a shorter road than the one

I took from Kiutaia to Chavdour : indeed I was told before setting out, that the journey might be performed in seven hours.

*July 26.*—Left Chaodour in the evening and reached Gheddiz after a ride of five hours and a half.

It takes nearly twenty-four hours, (stoppages not included,) to go from Gheddiz (Cadi) to Koula.

The geographical position of Kiutaia has, I believe, been exactly ascertained, and is correctly laid down in Colonel Leake's map of Anatolia : but as, when that map was constructed, Gheddiz had been visited by no European traveller, it is possibly not marked with equal accuracy ; a similar reason will account for the error, should there be one, as I apprehend there is, in the situation or the extent assigned to the Azanitis, and in the rise and course attributed to the Rhyndacus.

The name of Azani occurs in more than one inscription at Chavdour ; and as they are engraved on the cell of a temple, and consequently, are not liable to the objection made to your *Apollonian* inscription found at Deenare, their

evidence may, I think be considered as decisive of the identity of the place.

The temple upon which the inscriptions are cut is of the Ionic order, and, if I mistake not, of that class which Vitruvius (lib. iii. c. 1.) calls Pseudodipteral. It, however, presents more peculiarities both in its plan and elevation than could well be described within the compass of a note, or explained without a drawing. Two sides are thrown down, and the others are almost entire.

I had no means of measuring the columns very correctly, but I think I do not err much in assigning them a diameter of about three feet.

The theatre appears to have been connected with another structure, probably a stadium ; but instead of being parallel to the scene of the theatre, as has been found in several instances in Asia Minor, (vide Colonel Leake's work, p. 244,) the latter is, as it were, formed by prolonging the extremities of the *cavea* beyond the scene, in parallel lines.

This edifice, as well as the temple, is constructed of a coarse grey marble, some blocks, from their great size and irregular shape, seem to have

belonged to a more ancient building. Most, or all of the architectural remains, at this place, are of the same material as the temple. Among them I should mention a bridge, many columns apparently standing in the situations for which they were originally designed, and long lines of tombs, as the most perfect and conspicuous objects among the multitude of ruins, that are widely scattered around the modern and inconsiderable village of Chavdour.

I will only add that I have nowhere seen in Asia Minor, so much of ancient architecture *standing* as at Chavdour. The ruins of Ephesus or of Assos, may be as numerous or more so ; but they do not convey nearly so perfect a notion of what they originally were, and from this cause, as well as from my inability to appreciate their merit, I may be mistaken in supposing that the architectural remains at Ephesus, though more richly decorated, present no purer specimen of the art than the temple at Azani.

I remain,

Your very obedient servant,

St. ASAPH.



# S M Y R N A.



[The following account of Smyrna, having been most unaccountably omitted in the “ Visit to the Seven Churches,” is now for the first time presented to the public, with some additions on the present state of Smyrna.

The writer has been much indebted to those who have preceded him—Dr. Chandler, and Mr. Dallaway, but especially to Œconomos, the talented and respected master of the Ellenic school.]

## SMYRNA.

EVERY person who has visited Constantinople describes in enthusiastic terms the effect of a first view of that splendid city ; the first sight of Smyrna, especially when approached by sea, must also produce a strong impression. Vastly inferior in size, as well as in grandeur, to the metropolis, still it presents a picture of indescribable beauty, particularly striking to every one who compares for the first time an Ionian sky with the cloudy atmosphere of western Europe. It made at least a most powerful impression upon me in 1822, as in a summer evening, just before sun-set, we came to an anchor near the Marine Castle. The bay has been compared, not unfrequently, to that of Naples, and divesting the latter of the charms with which ages of Italian refinement have clothed her

shores, and reducing each to their natural features, Smyrna perhaps would not suffer much by the comparison.

The acclivities of Mount Pagus and the plain beneath, covered with innumerable houses, the tiled roofs and painted balconies, the domes and minarets of mosques glowing and glittering with the setting sun ; the dark walls of the old fortress crowning the top of the mountain, and the still darker cypress-groves below ; shipping of every form and country covering the bay beneath ; flags of every nation waving on the ships of war, and over the consulate houses ; picturesque sacolevas, and innumerable caicks skimming along the surface of the waves ; mountains on both sides of stupendous height and extraordinary outline, the effect of volcanoes or earthquakes, tinted with so strong a purple, that neither these nor the golden streaks on the water could safely be attempted to be represented even by a Claude : at the margin of the water on the right, meadows of the richest pasture, the velvet turf contrasted with the silvery olive, and covered with cattle and tents without number.

All this will at once tell the classical traveller

that he sees before him “ the queen of the cities of Anatolia, extolled by the ancients under the title of the *lovely*, the *crown of Ionia*, the *ornament of Asia*.” It will remind the Christian that he is arrived at Smyrna, the church favoured so much beyond all the other churches of the Apocalypse ; the only city retaining any comparison with its original magnificence.

Ephesus, the mart of all nations, the boast of Ionia, the *eye of Asia*, has long been in the darkness of primitive non-existence ; the streams of her commerce, like her own numerous ports, are all dried up. The proconsular chair of Laodicea is now occupied by the vulture and the jackall. At Sardis, where once a Solon reminded Croesus of his mortality, the solitary *cucuvaia* awakens the same reflection ; and if Philadelphia, Thyatira, and Pergamus, continue to exist, it is a state of being infinitely degraded from that which they once enjoyed. Smyrna alone flourishes still. Her temples and public edifices are no more ; but her opulence, extent, and population, are certainly increased.

The origin of Smyrna, in common with that of most ancient cities, is involved in fable.

Œconomos, in a little pamphlet published about fifteen years ago, valuable as well from the information it contains, as from the purity of its style, says, that according to the most probable ✓chronology, Smyrna was built in Æolia, 1139 years before Christ, though some give it a still earlier origin. Stephanus of Byzantium, and the orator Aristides, call the city Tantalís, as if built by Tantalus, who at first named it Naulochos. It was afterwards called Smyrna, from one of the Amazons. The foundation of Smyrna, as well as Cyme in Æolia, is said by Herodotus to have been by Theseus, who named the city after his wife Smyrna. But in another part of his history, he says it was built by the Colophonians: perhaps he only means the second occupation of their city by the Smyrneans, after having been compelled to reside at Colophon, and seek assistance of the Colophonians against their Æolian enemies.

The more plausible opinion of the origin of Smyrna is that of Strabo. That accurate and learned geographer says, that a part of Ephesus was first called Smyrna from one of the Amazons, and that a number of these Ephesians came

and inhabited Æolian Smyrna, driving out the Leleges, an ancient people of Caria, and named it after the Ephesian Smyrna. It would appear from hence, that Smyrna has the honour of being an Athenian colony, for such were the Ephesians who came into Asia under the command of Androclus, son of Codrus, king of Athens ; and to this the old epigrammatist is supposed to allude, when he calls Homer an Athenian as well as a Smyranean :

Ἡμετέρος γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὁ χούσεος ἦν πολίτης·

Εἶπερ Ἀθηναῖοι Σμύρναν ἀπωκίσσαμεν.

The Smyrneans in this early period of their history were not unworthy of this honourable descent. They shone in wisdom and in prowess equally with the Milesians, the Ephesians, the Colophonians, and the other Ionian states ; and if Clazomene boasted of her Anaxagoras, and Miletus of her Anaximenes and Thales, Smyrna could boast, among a multitude of other illustrious men, her offspring, of Homer, the immortal father of Grecian literature. The contest so successfully maintained by the Smyrneans against their neighbours of Æolia, attests their courage,

rewarded by their dismemberment from the province of Æolia, and association with the Ionian cities. “ So lovely and worthy to be contended for,” says Strabo, “ was ancient Smyrna, that the two most renowned nations of Asia, the Ionians and Æolians, fought for her as for a virgin of exquisite beauty.”

A season of undisturbed prosperity proved as dangerous to Smyrna as it has usually been to other great and opulent cities. The voluptuousness of her citizens gave rise to the ancient saying, “ Ionian luxury, and Smyranean manners.” Their courage unnerved by effeminacy of manners, they were unable to oppose the Lydians, against whom, at an earlier period, they had made a successful stand. Their city was destroyed, and the population scattered among the surrounding villages. This reverse of fortune is feelingly commemorated by Theognis in his elegies :

Υβρις καὶ Μάγνητας ἀπώλεσε καὶ Κολοφῶνα  
Καὶ Σμυρναν.

Strabo and Pausanias assure us, that they dwelt four hundred years in the villages around

the ruins of their city ; probably near, if not on the very site of those beautiful villages wherein the Smyrneans have their country retreats in the present day. Bournabat, with its gardens of gold ; Narlekeuy, and its shady groves of pomegranates ; Hadjelar, and its lovely and fruitful olives ; Bournarbashi, the ancient Periclysta, and its crystalline streams ; Cucclujah, and its elevated prospects ; Boujah, still retaining in its name the memory of the Paradeisos ; Sedikeuy, with its flowers and delightful mountains ;—the natural beauties of all these, preserve in great measure the same character as in the earlier periods of their history.

In submitting to the Persian yoke, Smyrna only suffered in common with the other cities of Ionia, the Archipelago and all Greece, the Peloponnesus only excepted, to which and the Athenian fleet, the Archipelago and the whole of Lesser Asia owed their deliverance. It was reserved for Alexander the Great to inflict the latest and most signal vengeance of Greece upon her Persian enemy. This great conqueror crossing over from Europe into Asia, that he might plant his victorious ensigns in the very vitals of



Persia, testified the greatest respect for the illustrious citizens of Smyrna, and, in accordance with a certain oracle, resolved to raise up again the ancient country of Homer. He, therefore, collected the fellow-citizens of the poet from the villages, and assembled them in one city, the Smyrna of the present day, built partly on the slopes of Mount Pagus, and partly on the plain which lies below it towards the sea.

Present Smyrna, according to Strabo, is distant from the old city twenty stadia, that is, three quarters of a French league, or, according to Turkish calculation, three quarters of an hour. It is not so easy to ascertain the precise situation of ancient Smyrna from ancient authorities.

✓ Ancient Smyrna lay near the river Meles, built near the sea within the boundaries of Æolia, at a place called by the Turks Daragatz. According to this position, which is determined by Strabo, and even by Homer, it appears that the old city extended as far as the baths of Diana, or, as the place is named in Turkish, the banks of the Chalkabounari; and some foreign travellers have called this streamlet the Meles. But Strabo clearly calls that river which now flows

✓under the caravan-bridge, the Meles. Aristides, a native of Smyrna, does the same; and this appears to be the truth.

✓ Unquestionably, ancient Smyrna was situated in Æolia. The oracles ordered the Smyrneans to cross (pass on the other side of) the Meles, and to erect their new city upon Mount Pagus :

Τρισμάκαρες κείνοι καὶ τετράκις ἄνδρες ἔσονται,  
Οἱ Πάγον δίκησουσι πέστην ἱεροῖο Μέλητος.

Pagus is the mountain on which present Smyrna is built. Coming from Æolia, we cross no stream deserving the name of a river but the river of the caravan-bridge. This must be therefore the Meles, and Strabo is right. But those who are of a different opinion say that *old* Smyrna lay *near* the river Meles, and not so far off as it appears at present. Admit this to be true, yet the Meles has been diverted in the course of ages from its original bed ; and even now, in the overflows of winter, it washes the fringes (τα κραδπεδα) of ancient Smyrna. But whatever be the Meles, and wherever may the site of old Smyrna, the present city was founded by Alexander, according to Pausanias, or by his successors

Antigonus and Lysimachus, in the opinion of Strabo ; so that it is already near two thousand , three hundred years old.

The site selected by Alexander was such as the ancient founders commonly preferred. Their cities in general were seated by some hill or mountain, which, as this did, supplied them with marble, and was commodious as well for defence as ornament. The side or slope afforded a secure foundation for the seats of the stadium and theatres, lessening both the labour and expense ; it displayed the public and private structures, which rose from its quarry, to advantage, and rendered the view as captivating as noble. The Greeks were of old accounted happy in choosing their situations—they had been studious to unite beauty with strength, and good ports with a fertile soil. The Romans were attentive to articles neglected by them, to the paving of the ways, to aqueducts, and to the common sewers.

Under the Roman emperors Smyrna was esteemed the most beautiful of the Ionian cities. If we may believe Philostratus, this city rose to such a height, that none of the cities of present Europe are worthy to be compared with it. The

mart, the arts and sciences, the public and private buildings, the civil polity and philanthropy of the Smyrneans, reached the highest step of mortal perfection. Temples, schools of every science, and particularly of medicine, baths, hospitals, extensive quadrangular stoas or porticoes, streets as straight as the site would admit, and excellently disposed; and these, as well as the public ways, paved both above and below; drains of wonderful construction, theatres, gymnasia, libraries. All this compelled even the austere Strabo to exclaim, on the first view of Smyrna, “ This is the most beautiful city in the world !”

Pausanias relates that there were statues of the most exquisite workmanship of the Nemeses and Graces, who were particularly revered by the Smyrneans—an Odeon, and an Æsclepium, the latter built in his time. In the reign of the emperor Hadrian, the youth flocked for education to the colleges of Smyrna from the Archipelago and the continent; whence it was named, “ *The grove of the eloquence of the sages, the museum of Ionia, the domicile of the Graces and the Muses.*”

A letter of the emperors Severus and Caracalla, conferring distinguished honours on the

citizens of Smyrna, is quoted by Spon; and the Oxford marbles bear much honourable testimony to Smyrna. But the most striking evidences of the glory of ancient Smyrna are to be collected from her medals. On some of these we see that Smyrna had a Prytaneum, the coins bearing that legend, and the portrait of Jupiter. He was worshipped in the present acropolis, and which, Pausanias says, was called Koryphea, and contained the temple of Jupiter Koryphæus or Jupiter Acræus.

In the *Συνέδρια*, or *Koiva* of the Asiatic states, who assembled to vote money for the erection and repair of temples, Smyrna became the metropolis, as appears from the coins of Septimus Severus, Caracalla, Alexander Severus, Maximus, and Maximin, Gordian, and Gallienus—ΠΡΩΤΩ . ΚΟΙΝΑ . ΑΣΙΑΣ . ΣΜΥΡΝ. That the citizens were esteemed the *chief*, ΠΡΩΤΟΙ, of Asia, is confirmed by Tacitus. The most distinguished cities of Asia were ambitious of alliance with Smyrna. A multitude of medals contain the ΟΜΟΝΟΙΑ, or alliance of Smyrna with the cities of Ephesus, Pergamus, Thyatira, Miletus, Hierapolis, Chio, Tralles, Clazomene, &c. Names of the most distinguished cities of Greece

are also to be found in alliance with Smyrna, as Athens and Lacedæmon. The Ephesians, jealous of the honour of Smyrna, claimed the precedence in a medal bearing the inscription, ΕΦΕΣΙΩΝ . ΠΡΩΤΩΝ . ΑΣΙΑΣ. Instantly the Smyrneans struck another with ΣΜΥΡΝΑ . ΠΡΩΤΗ . ΑΣΙΑΣ . ΚΑΛΑΕΙ . ΚΑΙ . ΜΕΤΕΘΕΙ.

Many other medals, says Tournefort, help us to know the rank which Smyrna held among the cities of Asia. The citizens boast, says Tacitus, to be the first in all Asia, who raised a temple to Rome, under the name of Rome *the Goddess*, in the very time while Carthage stood, and that there were powerful kings in Asia, who as yet knew nothing of the Roman valour. In the wars of Cæsar and Pompey the Smyrneans sided with Pompey, and assisted him with many vessels. After it had afforded refuge to Trebonius, one of the conspirators against Cæsar, who was slain by Dolabella, and part of the city destroyed, it enjoyed the protection of Augustus, who allowed them the title of *Neocore*.

When the eleven cities of Asia Minor contended for the honour of erecting a temple to Tiberius, his mother, and the senate, it was de-

creed to them, and that emperor constituted Smyrna a *Neocore*. Their gratitude to Hadrian, who had repaired the destruction of an earthquake, dedicated another temple to him, with annual games ; and Smyrna was made *Neocore* again by Hadrian, as appears by the Oxford marbles ; and by him she is also styled ΑΔΡΙΑΝΗ . ΣΜΥΡΝΑ. It had the same honour of *Neocore* under Caracalla. Tournefort informs us that Smyrna was thus *Neocore* of the Cæsars, while Ephesus was only so of Diana ;\* and at that time the emperors were much more feared, and consequently more honoured than the goddesses ; and the temples of emperors were more spacious and beautiful even than those of Ephesus and Pergamus.

When the city was destroyed by a dreadful earthquake in 177 after Christ, Marcus Aurelius restored it with much splendour and beauty. Demochares, a native of Smyrna, presided over this restoration, and his fellow citizens erected a statue to him with this inscription :

\* Τὴν Εφεσιῶν πόλιν νεωκόρον ὕσαν τῆς μεγάλης θεᾶς Ἀρτεμίδος. In our translation simply rendered *worshipper*. Acts xix. 35.

Δαμόχαρι κλυτόμητι, δικασπόλε, σοὶ τόδε κῦδος  
 Ὅττιγε τὴν Σμῦρναν μετὰ λοίγια πῆματα σεισμοῦ  
 Εσσυμένως πονέων, αὔρις πόλιν ἐξετέλεσσας.

In the earlier times, the cities of Asia were governed by their own laws, and by their own proper magistrates ; they enjoyed at that period, what is best expressed by the original word, a real *Autonomia*. Under the Persians, they lost this precious privilege. Alexander the Great re-established them in their ancient state, and Pompey, after the successful termination of the Mithridatic war, restored to the cities of Asia their laws, and their magistrates, of which they had been deprived, either by the Seleucidæ, Antiochus or Mithridates.

The government of the city of Smyrna appears to have been democratical ; the public authority was exercised in the name of the people by a public council. On the medals of most other cities occur the names Ο ΔΗΜΟΣ and Η ΒΟΥΛΗ, *the people and the council* ; and though no such legend has hitherto been discovered on the medals of Smyrna, yet the want is abundantly supplied by inscriptions in which the people and the



council of Smyrna, Ο ΛΗΜΟΣ ΚΑΙ Η ΒΟΥΛΗ ΤΩΝ ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΩΝ, frequently are mentioned. Besides the common council of the city, Smyrna had a senate or council of elders, called ΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑ. Several other cities had a similar council, and at Sardis in particular, the ΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑ assembled in the palace of Cræsus, appropriated by the Sardians as a retreat for the citizens in old age. The ΙΕΡΑ ΣΥΝΚΛΗΤΟΣ so frequent on the autonome coins of Smyrna, is perhaps another name for this *Gerousia*, or with greater probability, the collective name of the legislative assembly, composed of the elders, and the other members of council.

Most of the Greek colonies had a magistrate called the *Archon*, but it does not appear that such a dignity was ever exercised in Smyrna. The chief magistrate was called ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΣ, *Strategus*. He was not a military, but a civil officer, and the name, like that of archon, came from Greece into Ionia, and thence to many other cities of Asia. Some, says Vaillant, had *Archons* for magistrates, others prætors, or ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΙ; and some cities had both these officers. The name of these prætors occur on

almost all the imperial coins of Smyrna ; and though their office was an annual one, the same individual was frequently re-elected, and occasionally even for the third time. There were also in some cities two prætors at the same time, differing in rank, as the first and the second.

Every city had a depôt, called in Smyrna the *Archeion*, wherein were deposited the laws, the archives, the solemn treaties, the decrees of the senate and people, and all the other public documents ; a magistrate was intrusted with the charge of this *Archeion*, and he reduced into writing the public acts : his name among the Greek cities was ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΥΣ, literally, the scribe. It was a place of confidence, requiring the strictest probity in him who filled it. In many cities he was the chief magistrate, but in Smyrna it was an office of inferior rank. This officer is called the *town clerk* of Ephesus, in the 19th chapter of the Acts.

The quæstor or treasurer, called ΤΑΜΙΟΣ, was also a high dignity among the Smyrneans, styled treasurer of the sacred revenues ; such was Bion.

The cities of Asia, in imitation of Athens,

educated their youth with much care; they instructed them in the sciences, and they taught them also the exercises of the *gymnasium*, the school of the *Athletes* destined to combat in the public games. As Smyrna had a *gymnasium*, she had also an officer called a *gymnasiarch*.

A great city must contain many temples, and a proportionate number of ministers for their service; it appears by the medals of Smyrna that there were two sorts of temples, one of the deities, the other of the emperors. The ministers of the second rank were simply styled ΙΕΡΕΙΣ, *priests*; as the priest of Apollo, the priest of Hadrian, &c. as appears by inscriptions; all these priests were subordinate to a pontiff or high priest, who had the superintendence over the whole of the city and its territory, and was named ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣ, the high priest.

The sacred games which were celebrated in temples common to all the province of Asia in honour of the deities or the emperors, were under the direction of an *Asiarch*, whose office was different from that of the high priest. The etymology of the name would lead to the belief that the *Asiarch* was the governor-in-chief of the

province of Asia, and perhaps in the earlier period of history he might have been so, but latterly he was only a public officer, invested with a dignity partly magisterial and in part sacerdotal, who presided over the games of a particular province. The Asiarchate was an honourable title, but as expensive as honourable. The province contributed towards the expenses of the public games, but the Asiarch unavoidably expended large sums to make the solemnities more imposing, as well as to render himself conspicuous in his temporary office; accordingly, the most opulent persons were chosen to fill it. Strabo says, that in his time, the Asiarchs were elected principally from the citizens of Tralles, then the most wealthy in Asia; by the Roman laws, a father of a family having five children alive, was excused from the office. The Asiarchate was an annual dignity, and the same individual might be elected several times; it has been always contended that the Asiarchate was filled by *one* person only, unlike the *Archons*, *Prætors*, &c. &c. of whom there were sometimes two, and even more; but this seems contradicted by the inscription.—[No. 1, of the Visit to the

Churches]—found between Smyrna and Sedi-keuy, which has the name of Timon ΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΥ ΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΥ.

We learn the manner in which the election took place from Aristides of Smyrna, who was elected, but afterwards exonerated from the office by the friendship of Marcus Aurelius. “They send,” says he, “every year to the proconsul, the names of ten citizens who had the greatest number of votes for the office of Asiarch, and the proconsul having seen mine in the list, though he knew me only by reputation, and had heard that I had some property in Mysia, rejected all the rest, and conferred the magistracy upon me.” Such were the Asiarchs who were assembled at Ephesus, at the feast of Diana, who dissuaded St. Paul from going to the theatre. Sometimes the dignities of high priest, and prætor, and Asiarch, were united in the same individual. When St. Polycarp was seized at Smyrna during the celebration of the public games, probably for bearing too faithful a testimony against them, the people tumultuously demanded of Philip the Asiarch, that he would let loose a lion to devour the Christian; Philip excused himself on the

ground that the spectacles of the amphitheatre were at an end. This Philip was of Tralles, and united the office of Asiarch and high priest.

Lastly, the city of Smyrna had priests or pontiffs of a distinguished rank called *Stephanephori*, because they wore a crown of laurel, and sometimes one of gold, in the public ceremonies. This dignity was annual and elective in several cities of Asia, as at Sardis, Magnesia on the Meander, Tarsus, &c. These Stephanephori, though anciently consecrated to the ministry of the gods, were also attached to the temples of the emperors. Dionysius of Halicarnassus compares the Stephanephori to the Roman priests called *Flamens*. Oeconomus supposes these Stephanephori exercised the supreme authority in Smyrna instead of Archons, and that they continued only till the time of the emperors; the first is not correct, and the latter is disproved by a medal of Severus Alexander, which has a Stephanephorus, called Diogenes. Perhaps it was with reference to this *high* dignity, that to the faithful member of the church of Smyrna was promised “a crown of life.”

Under the Christian emperors Smyrna ranked

next to Constantinople, as well in consideration of her ancient celebrity as of the glory conferred on her by religion. The metropolis of Smyrna was placed by the emperor Leo the Sophist, among those metropolitan sees called *Αυτοκεφαλια*. It had six dioceses, as appears by the diataxis of the Emperor Andronicus Paleologus the elder. These were,

Phocæa	Anelium or Eleion
Magnesia	Archangel
Clazomene	Petra.

Thus far Smyrna flourished as the oracle had foretold ; but to these happier days succeeded many of bitter misfortunes. In 1084 a Turkish pirate called Tzachas, dignified with the title of king by his desperate gang, fixed the seat of his petty empire in Smyrna. It comprised Clazomene, Phocæa, Chio, Samos, Mitylene, and other islands and places on the coast. The Turkish sultan, Solyman the First, had his throne in Nice. In 1097, John Ducas, brother-in-law of the ruling emperor, Alexis Comnenus, appointed general-in-chief by land, in conjunction with the Admiral Caspax, retook Smyrna, under the stipulation that Tzachas and his partizans should be

put to death; and Caspas was appointed governor; Anna Comnena gives him the title of duke. Caspax was shortly after assassinated by a Turk, and to revenge the death of their chief, the sailors from the fleet murdered ten thousand Smyrneans. John Ducas left Yalea, or Yales, as governor of Smyrna in his stead. Tzachas returning, regained possession of the city; but was again forced to fly by Dalassenus, the admiral of the emperor Alexis; the emperor also accused him as a self-constituted sovereign to his father-in-law the sultan Keletzli Azlan; at which the sultan, much irritated, joined the army of Alexis, and marched against Tzachas; besieged him in Abydos, and inviting him to a banquet, intoxicated and dispatched him.

The whole of lesser Asia had been desolated by the wars, when the emperor Alexis sent Philokales in 1106 to rebuild the ruined cities; among many others so restored, was Adramyttium, of which not the smallest vestige had remained. At the beginning of the thirteenth century, Smyrna lay in ruins, except the acropolis, which served as a fortress. That friend of the Muses, the emperor John Ducas Vatatzes, who reigned in 1222,



rebuilt and beautified it. Theodosius, the consul, is said to have presided over this restoration of Smyrna; and the Smyrneans erected a marble statue to him, with this inscription,

Τον μεγαν εν βουλαις Θεοδοσιον Ασιδος αρχον  
Εικονι μαρμαρεη στησαμεν Ανδρυπατον.

The emperors of Constantinople had then their seat of empire at Nice, for the Latins held Constantinople. Vatatzes, struck by apoplexy, came down to Smyrna to offer up his prayers for recovery, in the principal church, now converted into the mosque called the Castana Bazaar; he regained his health by a long residence at Bounar-bashi, the ancient *Periclysta*, and going from thence, in 1255, he died at the gardens of Nymphæa, where he had a palace; his body was interred in the monastery of Sosandra, called by the Turks Kouzina, not far from Magnesia.

In the year 1313, *Aidin*, another desolating general of the first Ottoman sultan, Osman, wresting Lydia from the Emperor Andronicus Paleologus, placed his blood-stained standards almost upon the walls of Smyrna; his son and successor, Amour or Omar, was satrap or sultan of

Smyrna in 1332. Twelve years after, when he was absent with his fleet, laying waste the coasts of the Propontis, the knights of Rhodes, arriving with a few ships of war, burnt many vessels in the port, and gained possession of a fortress near the sea side, which is called the Fort of St. Peter. Omar arrived in time to save the town, but could not dislodge the enemy from the fort, nor prevent their making a settlement, which was at the mouth of the port, at a distance from the Turkish town. In the following year, the pope sent thither a nominal patriarch of Constantinople, escorted by twelve gallies; but while the Latins were celebrating mass in the then metropolitan church, which is the present *Issar* mosque near the fort, Omar rushing in, attacked and killed a great number, and among others, the patriarch himself in his robes of office. He compelled the rest to shut themselves up in the fort, and afterwards fell himself before it, pierced with an arrow.

In Vertot's history of the knights, this story is differently related. "The new general of the order John de Biandra, prior of Lombardy, formed a design worthy of his valour.

The port of Smyrna, a considerable city of Anatolia, served often for a retreat to the Turkish corsairs, who were masters of the city. Biandra having, besides the soldiers on board his fleet, taken in at Rhodes a great number of troops commanded by valiant knights, formed the siege of the place, and took it by storm. Some historians pretend that he only took the castle, which was seated by the sea side, and commanded the entrance of the port. All the soldiers in the fort, both Turks and Arabians, were cut to pieces. The grand master having advice of it, and knowing the importance of that fortress, sent fresh troops immediately thither, with arms and provisions to reinforce the garrison.

There are still to be seen upon the gates of the castle, though fallen to ruin, the arms of the church, which were placed there as a monument of this conquest, the whole honour of which they ascribed to the pope, as head of the league, though the knights of Rhodes had the greatest share in it. A Turk called Morbassan, (probably for Omar basha,) who commanded in the higher town and over all the country, attempted a year after to drive the Christians out of the

place. He laid siege to it, but after three months spent in smart attacks and a gallant defence, he made a feint of abandoning his enterprise, or at least of turning the siege into a blockade. The greater part of his troops drew off, and only a small number was left in his camp. The Christians having notice of his retreat made a furious sally, easily forced the entrenchments which were ill defended, broke into the camp, and put to the sword or took prisoners all that made resistance, or did not save themselves by a speedy flight. They celebrated this victory upon the same spot on which they obtained it, with the sound of military instruments, with feastings, and a joy which was so much the more dangerous as the enemy was not far off. Morbassan, whom they fancied “a great way up in the country, but who only lay concealed with his troops behind the neighbouring mountains, having notice of it by certain signals, marched down, and finding the Christians in disorder, made a cruel slaughter of them in his turn. The greatest loss fell upon the knights of Rhodes: and the pope’s legate, who was come into the camp to partake in the public joy, lost there his life, as well as

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most of the officers and ecclesiastics of his household. The knights who escaped the fury of the barbarians got back to the fort, and held it out by help of a new reinforcement, against all the efforts of the Turks and other infidels. The dismal news of this disgrace, passing into Europe, the pope to repair it published a crusade with numerous indulgences annexed to it."

Smyrna continued in this manner under a two-fold government fifty-seven years. The sultan, Amurat the First, attacked the fort, and his son, Bajazet, besieged it seven years, but they were unable to dispossess the Latins. In the year 1402, the celebrated Tamerlane when devastating lesser Asia, learned that the Christians and Mahometans had each a stronghold at Smyrna, and were always at war: he required the former to change their religion; but the governor soliciting aid from the European princes, Tamerlane marched in person to subdue it, and attacked it by land and sea. That he might destroy the famous port which shut up, he ordered every soldier to throw a stone into the mouth, which was soon filled up, as well as the station of the shipping called in the present day,

Ali Pasha Berani. Gaining possession of the town in fourteen days, with great slaughter of the inhabitants, he burnt the houses, and destroyed many public edifices, and among others the Fort of St. Peter. The knights had escaped from this fort into their gallies previously, and fled. Tamerlane is reported to have beheaded a thousand of the prisoners, and to have built, as a monument of his victory, a wall or tower composed of stones and their heads intermixed.

A very minute and curious account of this siege, written by a Persian, called Cherefeddin Ali, a native of Yedz, a cotemporary author, is thus translated in Vertot's History of the Knights.

“Timur was informed, that there was upon the sea coast, a place exceeding strong, built of hewn stone, surrounded by the sea on three sides, and on that of the land by a deep ditch, all built with lime, and cemented from the top to the bottom ; that there was a great number of Europeans within it ; that it was called Ismir or Smyrna ; that the Greeks looked upon it as an holy place ; and persons resorted thither from remote countries in pilgrimage with great devo-

tion, who there offered up their vows, and brought their alms ; that there was near it, about the distance of a horse's course, another fortress upon the ridge of a mountain, called also Ismir, but possessed by Musselmen, who were continually at war with those of the other place, on account of their difference in religion ; and as the Smyrna of the Christians was surrounded by the sea on three sides, they were relieved from Europe by sea, and had provisions, clothes, arms, and all other necessaries brought them that way. And as this place was seated in the farthest part of the frontiers of Asia, and the country of the Mussulmen, the Greeks carried on from thence a cruel war, and defended the place, as being of the utmost consequence to them ; that it had never been taken by any Musselman Prince, nor ever paid any tribute to any body ; that Amurath, the father of Bajazet, had taken the field several times at the head of a mighty army without being able to carry his point, and that Bajazet himself had kept it besieged for seven years together, without making any progress in it ; that this place infested the Musselmen exceed-

ingly, and nothing was to be seen but slaughter and streams of blood, flowing continually into the sea like torrents.”

“ When Timur was informed of the state of Smyrna, his zeal for religion persuaded him that it was his duty to deliver the Mussulmen from trouble, by entirely destroying their enemies. He detached thither the Mirza Pirmehemet Gmarchoitz, the emir Check Noureden, and others, with orders, first to summon them by an ambassador to embrace the Mussulman religion, (for such is Mahomet’s order,) that if they should be happy enough to do so, his pleasure was that they should be kindly treated, and that they should give him notice of it, in order that he might bestow his favours upon them ; that if their obstinacy should soften, and whilst they desired to continue Christians, would submit to pay tribute, they should regulate the sum with them and receive it ; but if, unhappily for them, they should dare to stand upon their defence, they should put them all to the sword.

“ The mirza and the emirs obeyed immediately, and coming before Smyrna, sent an ambassador to invite the inhabitants to turn Mussulmen,



using threats as well as promises for that purpose ; but as they were predestinated to destruction, both were useless ; and Mahmoudy, the governor of the place, had sent to demand succour of all the princes of Europe, so that he had got together a great number of the bravest Christian captains, or rather a company of mad devils, who erected magazines there, and supplied it with ammunition and provisions. Our generals gave advice thereof to the court, and Timur, upon the news, resolved to go thither in person. He left his baggage at the foot of the mountain of Tire ; and though it was winter, and the weather exceeding rainy, he would needs mount on horseback, that the merit of this religious war might be ascribed to him, and march on that side. He arrived there on Saturday, the 6th of Jumazyulel, anno 805, at the head of his army, and sent orders to the Mirza Mehemet Sultan, who was in winter quarters at Magniscab, to advance and post himself before Smyrna. The like orders were sent to Merasmiren Chuh and Bouleen, as also to the emir Gehan-chah, and others. At Timur's arrival before the place, they beat all their drums and kettle-drums, and the whole

army set up a great shout. The place was immediately attacked on the land side, and every general carried on the sap over against his post, and prepared engines and battering-rams for the assault. They shot arrows, and threw pots of wildfire upon the gates of the castle; the emir Chamelec caused likewise great scaffolds with three feet to be erected in the middle of the water near each other, over which they threw great planks, and from the two sides of the castle to the place where the feet of the scaffolding touched upon the land, they made a plain even way, and so firm, that the soldiers might boldly stand and walk on them, without fearing their breaking down, and fight there as well as if they had been upon land. This being finished, the Mussulmen took their bucklers, and got up on the scaffolds, assaulting the city from thence; and the way being thus shut up on the side of the sea, it was impossible for any body whatever to succour the besieged.

“ In the mean time, the Mirzas Mehemet Sultan, and Miranchah, arrived, having left their baggage at Magniscah under the care of the emir Chamseddin Abbas: this reinforcement was of

great service in forwarding the siege, for Timur gave orders for the general assault. The emir of Loumans and colonels of Hézares, with their troops, advanced to it, each on the side where he was posted, and the assault lasted from morning till evening, and from the evening till morning, the brave men on both sides performing actions of wonderful vigour. If the attack was obstinate and resolute, the defence was equal to it, and nobody had time to rest a moment ; the engines and battering rams beat down the walls and towers, and the besieged, still undaunted, were continually throwing pots of naphtha, wildfire, and showers of stones and arrows, from engines as well as bows, without the least intermission.

“ All this while the rain was so excessive, that it looked as if the universe was going to be overwhelmed with a second deluge ; yet notwithstanding this prodigious storm, the indefatigable Timur was every moment giving orders to his generals, and encouraging his soldiers in person. After the miners had finished their works, and propped up the bastions and courtines with stones, they filled the mines with fascines and faggots dipped in naphtha, and set fire to them ; upon

which the walls were thrown down at once, and several of the besieged fell from the top of them and were killed. The Mussulmen forced them sword in hand to quit the breaches that they defended, and made their way into Smyrna, crying out ‘Victory!’ and praising God, to whom they offered the heads of all their enemies by way of thanksgiving for their success. Very few of those escaped who had thrown themselves into the sea, and were swimming to the ships that lay off, great numbers of them being drowned in the attempt. After they had put the people of Smyrna to the sword, they demolished the buildings both of the town and castle, and threw the materials, the bricks, arms, and goods, into the sea. Some great ships, called caracas, came from certain parts of Europe: these had two masts at least, and were well provided with soldiers and arms on board to succour those of Smyrna. When they drew near the port, and saw no marks either of the town or castle, they were startled, and stopped their course. Timur gave orders to throw the heads of some of the Christians on board these ships, and the throwers of wildfire having executed his orders, several heads fell

into the very ships. The seamen knowing the heads of their comrades, tacked about and returned in a fright, altogether disappointed of their expectation."

On the departure of Tamerlane, the former governor, Cineis, or Tzineit, as Ducas calls him, son of Karasoubasi, governor of Ephesus, continued in possession of Smyrna. Cineis, ambitious beyond his means, aspired to be a sovereign. The sultan Mohammed I. marched against him in 1419, and took from him Nymphæum, Cyeme, and a strong castle built on the site of the ancient Temnus, or Neontichos, now called Menimen, (Chandler says it was fort Archangel, called by the Turks Kaghiasik, situated in the field of Menimen,) and finally, Smyrna itself. He was assisted by the governors of the islands, who hated Cineis, by the princes of Phocæa, of Higher Phrygia, Caria, Lesbos, Scio, and even by the grand master of Rhodes, who was then rebuilding fort St. Peter, which Tamerlane had destroyed. The sultan threw down all the fortresses of Smyrna, but spared the houses and inhabitants, and even permitted Cineis to resume the government of the city. Fort St.

Peter was ordered by the sultan to be again ruined, on a complaint that it sheltered the Ionian slaves who escaped from their owners ; and to requite the grand-master, permitted him to erect a fort on the borders of Lycia and Caria. In 1421, the Sultan Amurath II. deposed Cineis, and appointed another governor. By this sultan, it is said, Smyrna was privileged to coin money with the sultan's name ; the same favour was afterwards granted to Egypt and Adrianople. The knights of Rhodes, assisted by the Venetians, at the end of the same century, retook the city, and forced the Turks to evacuate it with great loss. Another account states, that it was Cardinal Caraffa, who, assisted by the Venetians, took and pillaged Smyrna in 1472, and carried an immense booty in triumph to Rome. The Turks of Smyrna rebuilt again the fort of St. Peter, which lay in ruins, and the same is preserved to the present day. The other marine castle, which lies at the entrance of the bay of Smyrna, near the shoals called the Myrmices, and opposite the æstuary of the river Hermus, called in Turkish Gedis-chay, was erected as an outwork of Smyrna by the Turks in 1656, after the

destruction of the Turkish fleet in the Hellespont by the Venetians. This fort is named in Turkish Sangac Bournon, because the Turkish flag is commonly flying over it. After the reign of Sultan Amurath, the conquering Turk gained complete possession of the Greek empire, peace was restored, and commerce revived and again settled at Smyrna.

In 1694, during the reign of Sultan Achmet II., the Venetians having taken Chio, came with a large naval force before Smyrna, and prepared to attack it with almost a certainty of success; but the consuls of the other European states, the French, the English, and the Dutch, had an immediate interview with the Venetian admiral, and intreated him to reflect that such an attack would infuriate the Turks of Smyrna against the European residents, and occasion not only the destruction of their commerce, but the loss of their lives. The admiral, fearing the displeasure of the European sovereigns, departed without attempting any thing, and left Smyrna to the enjoyment of that repose which, till the commencement of the Greek revolution, has been undisturbed, with the exception only of

some disturbances from without not worth mentioning, and the futile attempts of the rebel Sari (or Soley) Bey Oglou in 1736.

“ The reader of the foregoing details will not be surprised if few traces of the ancient city yet remain. From a survey of the castle, which is extensive, inclosing seven acres, we collect that after being re-edified by John Ducas Vatatzes, its condition, though less ruinous than before, was far more mean and ignoble. The old wall, of which many remnants may be discovered, is of a solid massive construction worthy of Alexander and his captains ; all the repairs are mere patch-work.” These remnants do not, however, appear entitled to the high antiquity Dr. Chandler assigns to them, and are probably many ages posterior to Alexander and his captains ; the contrast between these and the repairs of later ages is notwithstanding very striking, and justifies the elegant apostrophe of *Œconomos* :—

Πόσον σέβας ἔμπνέει εἰς τὸν θεωρὸν ἢ εἰς τὰ μεγαλοπρεπῆ  
ταῦτα λείψανα ἔμβασιλεύουσα σοβαρὰ Ἑλληνικὴ  
ἀρχαιότης ! καὶ πόσον μικρὰ φαίνονται τὰ ἐπ’ αὐτῶν  
μετὰ ταῦτα ἐποικοδομημένα μέρη του τείχους !

In its present state the castle consists of an embattled wall, with many towers, square and



angular. Within is a deserted mosque, said to have been the ancient church of the Holy Apostles, and rubbish of buildings, many small-arched vaults, and a large reservoir for water, the roof arched, and supported by piers. In the remotest periods, says Mr. Dallaway, this insulated hill appears to have been connected with the city in all its changes, and to have been the acropolis ; but he is mistaken in supposing this to have been the castle which was put into a complete state of defence, if not wholly rebuilt by the knights of Rhodes, after having been destroyed by Tamerlane : it was fort St. Peter, not this castle, which the knights defended so gallantly—they never had possession of the acropolis. At the north entrance was a handsome door-case of white marble, and over it an arch formed of three immense pieces of the same material, inscribed with an elegant and poetical description of the extreme misery from which the emperor before-mentioned had raised the city ; and concluding with an address to the omnipotent Ruler of heaven and earth, that he would grant him and his queen, whose beauty it celebrates, a reign of many years. This inscription was copied with much difficulty by the Rev. Mr. Burdett, chap-

lain to the Levant Company, and communicated by him to Pococke. It is published by Chandler in the "*Inscriptiones Antiquæ*." Mr. Burdett took the trouble of bringing long ladders from the Frank quarter, and it was even then a work of much difficulty; "*vix literas vidi sic inter se mutuo nexas et quasi in unum coalescentes*." If the letters were barbarous, the composition is in a good style, worthy of a better age, and almost of Homer and Theocritus. On each side of this arch is an eagle rudely cut. The whole is now prostrate, thrown down a few weeks since \* by the pasha to supply materials for the new barracks!

The river Hermus may be seen from this eminence, and it commands a view of the rich plain of Hadjilar, described justly as "the valley of gardens," and the whole town of Smyrna, so compact as to show itself like a single roof, the gulf quite to the sea, and the surrounding spiral mountains. From the south side it overlooks a valley abounding in marshy shrubs, concealing the Meles for a considerable distance; and far-

\* The above was written in 1827; the writer would have saved this interesting monument, and placed it in the public rooms, (Casino,) but the sum demanded was enormous; the letters were chopped off, and it is now built into the barrack walls.

ther on may be discovered its scanty stream and rocky bed—it is the rivulet sacred to Homer. Near the west gate at the right is a colossal head, concerning which most travellers have offered a conjecture. It has been called the Amazon Smyrna, the Empress Helena, and Apollo.

Going down from the western gate of the castle toward the sea, at some distance is the ground-plat of the stadium, stripped of its marble seats and decorations. One side was on the slope of the mountain ; the opposite, or that next to the town, was raised on a vaulted substruction which remains. It appears as a long dale, semi-circular, or rounded at the top. It was five hundred and forty feet long, and the diameter of the circular end two hundred and eighty-eight feet, one hundred and twenty of which were surrounded by the arena, and the remainder by the subsellia. This has been supposed (but erroneously) to be the site of the martyrdom of St. Polycarp, the first bishop of Smyrna, who, according to legendary tradition, was here torn to pieces by wild beasts.

Irenæus, however, tells a different story ; for he says, he was first exposed to the flames, and

afterwards thrust through with a sword. These contradictory accounts may be reconciled perhaps by recollecting that the Asiarch Philip refusing to let loose any more beasts, on the plea that the exhibitions of the amphitheatre were at an end, the flames were resorted to ; and such appears to have been the fury of the populace against the Christian martyr, that wood was brought from the baths and the town below. This was in the year 177, a year as awfully remarkable from the overthrow of the city by an earthquake. The festival of St. Polycarp is kept by the Greek church on the 23rd of February, and formerly there was a procession to his tomb, the supposed site of which is at a short distance only from the scene of his martyrdom. Chandler treats this supposed tomb as an idle tale, but its contiguity to the ruins of the ancient church comes in aid of the tradition ; nor is there any just reason for believing that in any period since that event, Smyrna was for any long time without some Christians competent and disposed to perpetuate the tradition. \*

\* St. Polycarp's Tomb.—Where the city anciently stood, is a *petite cabane*, like a hermitage, where a dervish lodges, and

Descending from the northern gateway of the castle, you come to the vestiges of a theatre in the side of the hill, fronting the north. This noble building, said to be the largest in Asia, was entirely destroyed by the Turks under the direction of the famous Vizier Achmet, son of Kupa-lu, in the year 1675, who removed the stones to build the Vizier Khan, the Besestein, &c. As neither the stadium nor theatre are mentioned by Strabo, they have been supposed to have been erected after he wrote ; but the bushel of medals

in this little *chambrette* is the coffin of St. Polycarp, (not his body.) It is covered with brown cloth, and over it is placed the episcopal mitre of a curious form, with *Alla* written in Arabic on the front of it. The Turks have much reverence for this tomb, because they say Polycarp was an evangelist of God, and friend of their prophet Mahomet."—*Voyage du Père Pacifique*, 1622.

"The Christians which dwell there, (at Smyrna,) receive much consolation from the marks of sanctity which are around their city. There we see the grotto in which St. John Evangelist dwelt some time. There is also the staff of St. Polycarp, planted by him when he suffered martyrdom, which took root and became a tree."—*Voyage du Sieur des Hayes*, 1648.

"There is a chapel a little higher up in the same mountain, all in ruins ; and nothing is to be seen there but a *tombeau* like those of Turkish cheiks, which is reputed to be St. Polycarp's."—*Voyage de Monconys*, 1648.

of the emperor Gallienus, found in one of the walls, would only prove that he had repaired it when ruinous. It requires a very careful examination even to determine the site at present, for not only are all the subsellia removed, but the rock having been quarried for building materials, the original curvature is entirely destroyed. In a small inclosure, however, close to a Turkish cottage, is a small but noble relic of this once magnificent structure ; some masses of wall and one of the vaulted entrances still entire, the stupendous stones and admirable masonry of which are really worthy of Alexander and his captains, and probably built by them. These remains are on the north-west ; at the opposite end a few small fragments mark its termination in that direction ; it is extremely difficult, from the nature of the ground on a descent, and for the most part filled with Turkish houses, to form an accurate idea of the internal diameter, but it was probably between two hundred and fifty and three hundred feet.\* It was clearly in this theatre, and not in the stadium, that Polycarp was put to death.

“ \* Un peu plus bas dans le penchant de la montagne est un Amphithéâtre dont l'on voit bien distinctement la figure, qui estoit un demi rond qui a par le plus haut 314 pas de tour ; il

Below the theatre is part of a slight wall, which, with a fosse round the hill, was begun about the year 1736, to protect the town from the famous rebel Soley Bey Oglou.

The port, which is shut up, reached once to the foot of the castle hill, but is now dry, says Chandler, except after heavy rains, when it receives water from the slope. It formed in his time a spacious recess within the present town, and had houses along the margin. In Tournefort's view and plan of Smyrna, this port is distinctly marked immediately adjoining on the south side to the old castle. The whole of the site has been subsequently built upon. Tamerlane, by depriving the sea of its free ingress, as we have observed before, first contributed to this change. It is mentioned as the galley port at the beginning of the last century.

“ A small mean castle,” says Chandler, “ still in use on the north side of the entrance, is sup-  
y avoit 24 rangs de degrez, mais les 12 d'en haut etoient un peu plus separés des douze d'en bas que de la largeur des marches qui ont un pied et 4 pouces de hauteur, et 2 pieds 3 pouces d'epaisseur ou profondeur,” &c.

It was in *this* amphitheatre, says Monconys, that St. Polycarp was murdered.”—*Voyage de Monconys*.

posed to occupy the site of fort St. Peter. Had he examined it with more attention, he would have discovered not only that it stands on the site of fort St. Peter, but that it is actually that celebrated fortress; and when history speaks of its having been totally destroyed at different periods, this must be an exaggeration: the strongest evidence of the identity of this building, or at least a part of it, still remains. Vertot, in his History of the knights of Malta, says, ‘ There are still to be seen upon the gates of the castle, though fallen to ruin, the arms of the church, which were placed there as a monument of the original conquest of this fort from the Turks; the whole honour of which they ascribed to the Pope as head of the league, though the knights of Rhodes had the greatest share in it.” *These arms, on two tablets of white marble, still remain over the gate.*

The city wall, which, descending from the castle, included the stadium on the one hand, and the theatre on the other, has been long since demolished, and even its ruins removed. The stones were employed in the erection of the public buildings by the Vizier Achmet in 1675.



A small remnant of it on the hill above the stadium is of that kind of ancient masonry called Pseudisodomum, hard cement and rubble, faced with large stones, and having externally the same appearance as the Isodomum, which was wholly of stone or marble, the pieces regularly disposed. The side next the theatre may be traced, or rather could be traced, in Chandler's time, a considerable way along the brow from its junction with the north-east angle of the castle. It is then lost ; but in the Armenian quarter, by *the three corners*, or near the Frank street, were remains of a thick and massy wall which had a large V, or something resembling it, cut on each stone. Going, in 1675, from the sea along by it, you came to foundations of a great and solid fabric, probably the gymnasium ; not far off, according to *Æconomus*, from the more modern philological gymnasium, over which he presided with so much credit to himself and advantage to the students. Above the principal Armenian street, (in which is the large khan for printing cottons,) ascending the hill towards the castle, still remain considerable portions of a wall resembling that which stood near the three cor-

ners, and having the same figure on many of the massy stones.

The bed of the river Meles behind the castle is crossed by a lofty aqueduct, which, when Chandler saw it, had been recently repaired, and supplied the fountains in Smyrna. This was built by the same Vizier Achmet in 1674, and the advantages of it are thus described by Rycaut : “ He erected a stately aqueduct, and joined so many streams of water into one current, that not only the new buildings, (the Vizier Khan, the Bezestein, &c.) were supplied therewith, but also seventy-three new fountains were added to the old, besides ten old ones which were dug and again repaired ; so that whereas some houses were forced to fetch their water from far, now every family is well accommodated, and every street as well supplied therewith, as most cities are which are seated in the great continent of Asia.” This aqueduct has seven arches above, and two below ; is two hundred feet across, and sixty feet high.

Above this aqueduct is another more extensive and ancient, which has fourteen arches, some circular, some elliptical ; the latter may be

Turkish additions ; this is now used only to turn a corn-mill above it against the hill. Its height is seventy feet, and the length three hundred and fifty. By this aqueduct are several petrifications, and one of which, an aged tree, was the mould ; —the wood has perished, but the large hollow trunk which incrustated it is standing. This spot, and the adjacent scenery form the *Megalos Paradeisos*, and is the much frequented resort of Turkish females. The grotto of Homer was supposed by Chandler to be near this place, but without any foundation.

In going from Smyrna to Boujah, by both the upper and the lower road, you pass through an opening in an old wall, supposed by Chandler to be the wall of the Pomærium, which encompassed the city at a distance. The facings are gone, and masses only of hard cement are left. The opening by the lower or plain road had once a gate, perfect within the recollection of many persons still living. The wall may be traced to a craggy rock rising precipitously above the Meles ; but it is evident this wall could never have been intended for defence ; the arches would at once have opposed such an opinion, even if the pipes

of an aqueduct did not clearly announce its original destination ; as some part of the wall nearer the river is of a later construction, perhaps what was originally built simply as a conveyance for water, was subsequently repaired for a wall.

The ancient sepulchres were in the *Pomærium*, without the city. One, which has been absurdly supposed a temple of Janus, remained in 1675 in the way to Eshikleer, or beyond the river Meles, and on the left of the road leading to Magnesia. It was then among olive-trees in a field. The inscriptions of several have been preserved and published. The supposed temple of Janus is described by Spon as a small portico built of large stones without cement, and having two entrances to the north and to the south. Dr. Chishull thought it was the temple of *Æsculapius*.

Near this, at the distance of “some paces” only, according to Tournefort, is the spot called by Europeans the baths of Diana. It is on the road to Bournabat, and has a plentiful source of warm water. Some arches and foundations of buildings have been discovered near it, the magnificent fragments, says Tournefort, of a great

marble edifice. Many columns of white marble have been seen by those who have had the curiosity to bring a boat up the river which issues from the bath : and some pillars of red and white marble were lately standing among the high reeds on the north side of it, evidently belonging to an ancient edifice ; it was from hence, according to common report, that the pillar was brought, which is at present in the mosque at Bournabat, having this inscription :

ΥΜΝΩ ΘΕΟΝ  
ΜΕΛΗΤΑ ΠΟΤΑΜΟΝ  
ΤΟΝ ΣΩΤΗΡΑ ΜΟΥ  
ΕΚ ΠΑΝΤΟΣ ΛΟΙΜΟΥ  
ΚΑΙ ΚΑΚΟΥ  
ΠΕΠΗΥΜΕΝΟΥ

It has been before observed, that there is considerable difference of opinion about the river Meles ; the greater part so naming the river which passes under the aqueducts and castle, on the authority of Strabo ; while others, and among them the respectable names of Mons. Fauvel and Mr. Cousinery, taking it for the river of Bournabat,

bat, and alleging in proof the grottoes at its source. I should be disposed to incline to the opinion of Chandler and others, supported by the positive assertion of Strabo; at the same time, I think it very probable, if not certain, that *ancient* Smyrna lay on the northern side of Bournabat Scale, and the remains at the corner of the bay, and on the mountain slope beneath what is called the tomb of Tantalus, in fact, all which is now named Hadji Mouza, are vestiges of the ancient *Æolian* city.

Few of the Ionian cities have furnished more relics of antiquity, or of greater merit, than Smyrna; but the convenience of transporting them, and the number of investigators, have exhausted the mine; it is therefore not at all wonderful, that “of the stoas and temples, the very ruins are vanished;” and it is now extremely difficult to determine the sites of any of the ancient buildings, with the exception of the stadium, the theatre, and the temple of Jupiter Acraeus which was within the acropolis.

1. Of the other temples, the position of that of Cybele, called also the Metroum, may be inferred from the description of Strabo, who says that the

part of the city which was built on the plain stood *προς τω Μιτρώω*. This may either mean *near to*, or *over against*. If the latter, perhaps it was the temple of which Mr. Fauvel found the vestiges below the tomb of Tantalus:—or the elevated spot beneath in the corner of the bay, shaded by olive trees, part of the Hadji Mouza, and where medals have often been found. If the former, I can find no position more probable than the Kula of Sadek Effendi on the road to Bournabat.

2. Of Diana.—This temple and its position as described by Quintus Calaber, have been spoken of in the first volume. Van Egmont expressly says that the baths of Diana were so called from a temple which stood near it; this at least proves that the “Baths of Diana” were so called before the time of that traveller, and the spot where the Mosaic pavement was found may have been the site of the temple; for I am still of opinion, that the baths of Diana and the pillars near it, may have been of later and Christian erection.

3. Of Apollo.—This temple is said to have been built at the extremity of the walls; if these were the walls of the territory, the remains near the hot baths, called the Baths of Agamemnon,

may be those of this temple ; but if the walls of the city are intended, the foundation above the Jewish burial-ground, called those of the temple of Æsculapius, agree better ; and if so, the head in the castle gate, called the head of the Amazon Smyrna, was probably the head of Apollo, and brought from this temple. The temple of Æsculapius was said, by Pausanius, to have been built in his time ; that is, in the second century ; but judging from a careful investigation of the few members that may yet be found scattered among the grave-stones, they were of much earlier date. I found fragments of a Doric architrave and other ornaments of the Doric order, sufficiently well preserved to determine the diameter and height of the columns, though certainly there were others of the Corinthian or Composite ; and as these could not belong to the same building, there were probably two temples on or near the same site.

Pausanius calls it the temple of Apollo Spodius ; so called from *spodas*, *ashes* ; an altar being erected to him out of the ashes of the victims immolated. This was an *oracular* temple, and the oracle was given by *ominous sounds*, called κληδονες.



4. Of *Æsculapius*.—It has been before observed, that the gigantic foundations which are now excavating above the Jewish burial-ground, are generally believed to be those of this temple. I do not presume to put my opinion in competition with that of antiquaries, so much more competent to decide, as Mr. Fauvel, Mr. Cousinery, &c. : still I cannot reconcile this position with the description of Pausanius, that the temple of *Æsculapius* stood between a high mountain and an arm of the sea. It was Dr. Chishull's opinion that this temple stood near the baths of Diana, and certainly the many votive marbles that have been found in that direction, several of which are in the author's possession, give some plausibility. On the other hand, Mr. Dallaway said that in coming from Vourla to Smyrna, he heard a *temple* had been discovered within the memory of man, near the *hot* baths, and corresponding with the site of the temple of *Æsculapius*, as described by Pausanias.

Besides these, there were the temples of the Nemeses,—of Rome,—and of the Emperors Tiberius and Hadrian. The last, by an inscription preserved in the chapel of St. Polycarp, stood

probably on Mount Pagus, and may have been the temple mentioned by Mr. Dallaway, as discovered upon the middle space of Mount Pagus, the dimensions of which were fifty feet by twenty-seven within the walls.

Of the others, there are no traces, though one of them may have been that which Mr. Dallaway says was discovered in 1794, in sinking a well, which had columns of porphyry and marble, and a statue of Paris of exquisite workmanship.

## MODERN SMYRNA.

WE have already remarked, that though the temples and public edifices are no more, the opulence, the extent, and the population of Smyrna, are certainly much greater at present than at any period of her former history. It is to her commerce that she is indebted for her present proud pre-eminence over her sister churches; probably even for her existence at all.\* The devastations committed in Asia Minor, and the changes effected by the rivers on the coast, have rendered Smyrna the only considerable mart by the seaside, and, in consequence, the principal centre of the traffic of the country. Her rival, Ephe-

\* Of course, this is to be understood as subordinate to the will of the great head of the church, which has permitted Smyrna to exist, while her sister churches are desolate, without inhabitant.

sus, no longer exists ; when her ports were dried up, her commerce naturally ceased : the early navigators of Miletus extended its commerce to remote regions ; the whole Euxine sea, the Propontis, Egypt, and other countries, were frequented by its ships, and settled by its colonies. It was styled “ mighty by sea ; ” the fertile mother, which had poured forth her sons to every quarter, counting not fewer than seventy cities descended from her. Miletus is no more ;—and the destruction of Aleppo, more recently, has rendered Smyrna the emporium of the Levant.

It is extremely difficult to calculate with any precision the population of a Turkish city ; but the increase of the population of Smyrna, has evidently been very great within a hundred and fifty years, if we can depend on the information of the earlier travellers. In the voyage of Père Pacifique in 1662, he says there were as many Greeks and Jews as there were Turks.

In 1699, De la Mottraye, a traveller of strict veracity, and in general of uncommon accuracy, calculated the *total* population of Smyrna only at twenty-four thousand. Tournefort, in 1701, exceeds this estimation by three thousand, making

the entire population twenty-seven thousand. In 1740, according to Pococke, the population had increased to nearly one hundred thousand, an incredible supposition, especially as the total number of Greeks, Armenians, and Jews, are only stated at two thousand above Tournefort's calculation. It is therefore most probable, that De la Mottraye and Tournefort were both misinformed as to the real amount of the Turkish population, and considerably underrated it. In 1788, the total population is calculated by Stuart at one hundred and thirty thousand. In 1795, by Mr. Dallaway, as exceeding a hundred thousand. By more recent travellers the population has been variously estimated from one hundred thousand to one hundred and fifty thousand. Perhaps one hundred and thirty thousand, and between ten and fifteen thousand houses, may be tolerably correct.

In 1622, from the voyage of Père Pacifique, we learn that there were only four mosques, one or two Greek churches, and one synagogue. And the Catholics, says he, have only one very small church, "*tenue par les pères Observatins Venetiens,*" and in consequence of a dispute be-

tween the French and Venetian consuls, the latter not being disposed to yield the precedence in his own chapel to the former, (the French consul,) therefore the French consul has taken into his house *un Cordelier Français*, who performs all the duties of a curé in the chapel of his (the French consul's) mansion, and confesses all belonging to the French nation.

In the present day there are above twenty mosques: the Greeks have three churches; the Armenians one; the Latins two; the Protestants two; that is, one belongs to the English, and a second to the Dutch nation; and the Jews, instead of one, have numerous synagogues.

*Bishops of Smyrna.*

- |                        |                       |
|------------------------|-----------------------|
| 1. Aristo I.           | 10. Eutychius         |
| 2. Strataeus           | 11. Idduas            |
| 3. Aristo II.          | 12. Cæthericus, 448.  |
| 4. Bucolus             | 13. Photius.          |
| 5. Polycarpus, Martyr. | 14. Calloas.          |
| 6. Papyrius            | 15. Stephanus         |
| 7. Camerius            | 16. ———               |
| 8. Thraseas            | 17. Theodorus Studita |
| 9. Eudæmon             | 18. Metrophanes.      |

- |                     |                        |
|---------------------|------------------------|
| 19. Nicetas         | 26. — Temp. Andronic.  |
| 20. Theodorus I.    | Imper.                 |
| 21. Joannes         | 27. Theodorus II.      |
| 22. ——— 1166.       | 28. ——— 1334           |
| 23. Georgius, 1220. | 29. Gabriel, 1575, vel |
| 24. Calophorus      | 1576                   |
| 25. Isaacus         | 30. Ananias sedebat    |
|                     | anno 1721.             |

The writer abstains from entering into a more detailed account of Smyrna in its present state, because, if it be the will of God that he should again resume the duties of his post, he hopes to publish a full account of Modern Smyrna, accompanied by a map of the city.

He cannot, however, conclude without briefly adverting to the extraordinary changes which have taken place within the comparatively short period of his own residence.

On his arrival in 1822, the furious excitement, with all its horrors, attendant on the commencement of the Greek revolution, was at its height. It was unsafe to walk even in the streets ; and a visit to the old castle was an undertaking of such

danger, that many of the oldest Frank residents had never dreamt of venturing thither.

The remotest attempt at improvements of any kind, tending to ameliorate the condition of either Greek or Turk, was sure to be regarded in the same light as innovation, in the days of Daniel, upon the law of the Medes and Persians ; and any proposal for the intellectual improvement of a rayah or Musselman, would have subjected the rash projector to the effects of infuriated fanaticism.

The wooden framed house, though gaudily painted without, was considered the indispensable protection against the desolating earthquake, which might occur once in a century, but against the fires of every day, stone was never thought of. The only legitimate mode by which, in the depth of winter, a party could be warmed, was to be seated round the *Tendour* table, inhaling the wholesome fumes of charcoal ; and all the little and great comforts or necessities of life, from a chair to a knife and fork, must be patiently waited for from Europe, at least six months. A stranger arriving, could only throw himself on the well-deserved character for hos-



pitality of the consuls and merchants, unless he chose to seek the accommodations of a Turkish khan ; a printing press, much more a newspaper issuing from it, would have excited as much astonishment, if not persecution, as the necromancy of the notorious Dr. Faustus.

But we live in the days of the march of intellect, and it has advanced even into barbarian Turkey. The explorer of antiquities, or the Christian philosopher, may now turn about the stones of the old castle, or meditate for hours on the spot consecrated by the martyrdom of a Polycarp, without the borrowed character of a Hakim, though the illusion connected with such scenes is apt to be somewhat destroyed by finding himself surrounded by a party of spruce soldiers with tight clothes and foraging caps, instead of grave-bearded personages, with ample turbans and flowing togas.

The houses of wood have given place to palaces of stone erecting in all directions. Smart shops abound with not only the necessities of housekeeping and house furnishing, but the comforts and luxuries flow in abundantly from London and Paris. The *Tendour* maintains its place

still, but as an ancient domestic, kept more from gratitude for past services; and English fireplaces, and English coals, are now well appreciated. Locandas upon locandas, hotels upon hotels, and excellent lodging houses, invite the traveller, instead of repelling his entrance into the land of barbarism.

In a word, the temples, the stoas, the porticoes of earlier days seem restoring. Not only a printing-press, but presses upon presses, and journals upon journals, French, Greek, Italian, and even English, have familiarised the inhabitants of Smyrna with the politics and literature of Europe. Even a few years ago, a writer could complain with truth, that the Greek youths of Smyrna, have no other means of acquiring knowledge, than what is furnished by very inferior day-schools, and by private instruction. We might almost have applied the same remark to other Christian communities. At present, there are not only several seminaries—one at least dignifies itself with the name of a college, for the education of the Frank youth of both sexes—but upon the Greeks, the stores of

education are showered down with an unheard of profusion.

Besides the classical establishment, now admirably conducted by Abraham of Cesarea, formerly by *CEconomos*, what must be the surprise of the stranger who enters the numerous *free* schools, in which hundreds, not to say *thousands* of Greek youth, of both sexes, are taught not only the common rudiments of, but even the politer branches of literature; and I must not withhold the meed of praise from him to whom much of this is due; my friend, the Rev. Mr. Brewer, has been the main promoter, I should say the introducer, of this "march of intellect" among the Greeks. And who will believe it? The *schoolmaster* is actually among the Turks themselves; the European schoolmaster! and he who hitherto, "unchanged unchangeable, hath *sat*" with his legs under him, writing on his knee, has at last admitted the innovation of sitting on forms, and writing at a bench.

Humanity rejoices at the establishment of a public dispensary, where multitudes of all nations and different forms of religious creeds are gra-

tuitously relieved. But religion rejoices more to see her numerous ministers, of all denominations and countries, zealously advancing her best interests. In 1822, and for years afterwards, the writer, and the chaplain of the Dutch factory, were the only Protestant ministers; at present, there are no less than three of the English episcopal church, one of whom, as successfully as zealously, labours in his mission to the Jews, in addition to the charge at present of the Protestant chapels; while another, both in Smyrna and in the country villages, is an active and useful missionary to the Greek and the Turk. I have already spoken of Mr. Brewer, who, in addition to his schools, performs the service of the American Independent church in the Dutch chapel in the afternoon; and since the writer left Smyrna, two if not more American ministers, previously established in Malta, have arrived in Smyrna.

Such are the extraordinary changes within only twelve years; and here I would willingly take my leave of the reader, if a deep sense of duty did not compel me most reluctantly to mention that this delightful picture has, or is too likely to

have, one obscuring shade. Western Europe seems to have sent to Smyrna an increased and increasing love for amusements as well as instruction.

Would to God that this was a thirst for the pure intellectual amusements, which love of science, not to speak of religion, is so capable of imparting! Would to God the reported increase of a passion for that soul destroying amusement, the gambling-table, was not too true! Would to God the reported intention of establishing a public theatre with all its dangerous fascinations, may be untrue!

If I may not venture to address the members of other religious communities, (and yet many whose friendship I value will allow me to do so,) yet impressed as I am with the awful responsibility of the relation in which I am placed towards the members of my own congregation, and still more impressed, if possible, with the strongest affection for every one of them, I should be wretched in my own mind, besides incurring criminality in the sight of God, if I did not raise my voice in the strongest expression of affectionate warning and entreaty, against both these

most dangerous, most destructive seductions. Oh! avoid both the gambling-table and the blandishments of a public stage. The one leads to destruction of character—to ruin of credit in a house of commerce—to crime,—and too often to self-destruction ;—the other, from the unnatural excitement of the passions, and the fascinating dress in which the most immoral indulgences are presented to the eye, not only destroys all the quiet and innocent enjoyments of domestic life, by exciting a ceaseless longing for what is unreal ; but loosening the earlier implanted principles of right and wrong, and destroying the moral feeling, leads almost as surely to the same consequences, or if not, to a total distaste of rational and intellectual enjoyments.

Oh, while our Smyrna is fast rising again into her pristine importance ; while we may say her temples, her porticoes of learning, her gymnasiums, and libraries, her *Æsclepiums* for the cure of diseases, are restored again, let it not be said of the youth of Smyrna, to whose amiable and ingenuous disposition I bear cheerful testimony, that the epithets which at one period of her history unhappily designated

the citizens of Smyrna, may be justly applied again, *Ιωνικὴ τρυφή* and *Σμυρναίων ἡθὴ*—" *Ionian dissoluteness*," and " *Smyrna manners*." Strive to excel in the healthy exercises of the Palæstra, the djerit, and the course—even again erect the *classic theatre* in the open air, but shun the gaming-table, and shun a licentious stage.

Neither the gaming-table nor the theatre will lead to the distinction of which the youth were emulous in ancient days. The crown of the Stephanephoroi—the crown of the Epheboi—the crown of the victor in the gymnasium, or the stadium,—of the poet in the theatre, would have withered on the brows of the gamester, or the supporter of the licentiousness of a modern drama.

But there is another crown, to which a devotedness to the faro table or the theatre can never lead; and what is there that can be put in competition for an instant with the chance of gaining, or the awful danger of being deprived of that crown!—Friends and fellow members of the church of Smyrna, of every age and rank, and sex, and religious community, O! let us not

be unmindful, ungratefully unmindful, of the high distinction promised to the faithful member of our church. "Be thou faithful unto death, and I will give thee a crown of life," an amaranthyne, a never withering, never dying crown.





## INSCRIPTIONS

*At Oloubourlou, (Apollonia) referred to, Vol. i.*

pp. 241, 242.

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*At Oloubourlou, (Apollonia.)*

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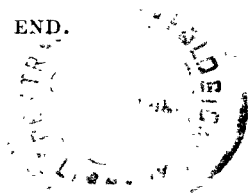
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